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ABSTRACT

This handbook is the product of a second world history institute held in Aspen, Colorado in 1996. Intended to supplement the first handbook, this production focuses on many lesser-known areas of histories of the world that remain either unexamined, ignored, or not yet included into the story of world history. Second, habits of mind peculiar to world history had yet to be properly identified and integrated into world history scholarship and teaching. Both world history scholarship and teaching had appeared to be mired in analytical frameworks and habits of thinking more appropriate to western civilization than world history. Finally, assessment mechanisms appropriate to world history seemed lacking, especially considering debate over history standards and their assessment. This document is devoted to improve world history in the above areas. (RJC)

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Aspen World History Handbook II

New Research and Lesser Known Tales,
Habits of Mind,
Lessons and Assessments

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Edited by:

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Table of Contents

FORWARD iii

PART ONE: New Research and Lesser Known Tales 1

- The Precolumbian Ball Game: Ritual Sport of the Americas 1500 B.C.- 1521 A.D. . . . 2
- Southeast Asia in World History 21
- Korea In World History 40
- The Middle East in Twentieth Century World History 60
- Reflections of a Luxurious Age: The Mirror of Art in Colonial Latin America 75
- Technology in World History 92
- Monks and Nuns As Agents of Global Change 100 C.E.-1200 C.E. 113

PART TWO: World History Habits of Mind 129

- Cultivating Historical Thinking 130
- Teaching and Assessing the 'Doing World History' Method of the World History Survey . . 145
- Three Approaches to Historical Analysis Integrating Habits of Mind 159
- Cultivating Habits of Inclusiveness 170

PART THREE: Lessons 174

- Gendering World History: Women and Slavery on the African Continent 175
- Women Activists and Reform at the Turn-of-the Century From Arkansas and Argentina . . . 189
- 16th Century Women: A Film and Documentary View 207
- Russian Expansion in Asia 218
- Latin America and the Age of Democratic Revolutions 231
- Map Puzzle of Africa 238

PART FOUR: New Directions in World History Assessment 241

- An Alternative Assessment Strategy for World History Teachers and Students 242
- Global World History and Constructivist Assessments 257

ASPEN WORLD HISTORY INSTITUTE II PARTICIPANTS 267

FOREWORD

The Aspen World History Handbook II is the product of a second World History Institute held in Aspen, Colorado during July 14-21, 1996. The first Aspen World History Institute, held July 13-24, 1992, dedicated itself to the consideration of how to create a viable one year survey course in World History. Since that Institute, there has been much progress in the formulation of coherent and substantive world history survey courses, and to complement them, creation of exemplary lessons, new textbooks, and illuminating primary resource collections.

By 1996, there appeared to be a number of areas in which the world history survey course needed to be strengthened still further. First, many lesser-known areas and histories of the world remained either unexamined, ignored, and or not yet woven into the story of world history. Second, habits of mind peculiar to world history had yet to be properly identified and integrated into world history scholarship and teaching . Both world history scholarship and teaching appeared mired in analytical frameworks and habits of thinking more appropriate to western civilization than to world history. Finally, assessment mechanisms appropriate to world history seemed woefully lacking especially given the current debate over history standards and their assessments.

Therefore, Aspen World History II dedicated itself to examination of lesser known areas of the world and new world history research, to recognition and understanding of the peculiar habits of mind that world history demands, to beginning the development of more appropriate assessment mechanisms reflective of the world history narrative and habits of mind, and to developing lessons integrating the new research information, habits of mind and assessment mechanisms discussed during the course of the Institute.

Directors of the Institute, Marilynn Hitchens and Heidi Roupp, invited experts from across the country to prepare short papers relevant to the topics of lesser known areas of world history, habits of mind and testing. The presentations were followed by discussions with the participants who then created lesson plans based on the new information. The participants numbered 12 and included college and high school instructors. This *Handbook* is the collaborative work of all who participated in the Institute either as presenter or discussant. Names and addresses of Institute particpants are at the end of the *Handbook* for your use as resource contacts.

In this book can be found illuminating new research and lesser known histories important to the world history narrative, including Southeast Asia, Korea, the Middle East in the 20th century, Mesoamerican sport, the cross-cultural aspects of Columbian art, the diffusion of the universal religions, women, and technology in world history. Also included are discussions of world history habits of mind-- what they are, how they can be integrated into teaching methodology, how important they are to strengthening the discipline itself, and the relevance they have in imparting to students thinking skills crucial to the 21st century world. The lessons presented by each participant were an important forum for reflection on world history substance and methodology as well as a fertile place for exchange of resources and experience. Finally, an attempt was made to look at world history assessments as currently used and to think creatively about how they could be improved so that measurements of student cognition in the areas of content, research, thinking and writing could be more accurately assessed.

PART ONE: New Research and Lesser Known Tales

Mesoamerica: The Precolumbian Ball game: Ritual Sport of the Americas

Asia: Southeast Asia in World History

Korea in World History

Middle East: The Middle East in Twentieth Century World History

Latin America: Reflections on a Luxurious Age: The Mirror of Art in Colonial Latin America

Technology: Technology in World History

Religious Diffusion: Monks and Nuns as Agents of Global Change

THE PRECOLUMBIAN BALL GAME: RITUAL SPORT OF THE AMERICAS 1500 B.C.-A.D.1521

Jane Stevenson Day
Denver Museum of Natural History

Content Outline

INTRODUCTION: Putting the game in context
THE PRECOLUMBIAN BALL GAME:
    History
    The Olmec Tradition
    Cultural & Geographical Context
RITES & RITUALS OF THE GAME:
    Origin
    Cosmic Views
    Interpretation
EQUIPMENT
    Clothing
    Protective Gear
    Playing Equipment
THE BALL COURTS
    Stadiums/Courts
    Forms
    Size
    Locations
PLAYING THE GAME
    Historic Context
    Rubber Balls
    Rules of the Game
STAKES OF THE GAME
    Life & Death on the Ball Court
    Heros
    Rewards
    Gambling

A PERIPHERAL AREA: The American Southwest

MODERN FORMS OF THE ANCIENT GAME
    The Mixtec Ball game
    Ulama

AFTERMATH: The Spanish Conquest, 1521

CONTEXT FOR THE MESOAMERICAN BALL GAME:

Mesoamerica as a cultural entity shares specific characteristics. Among these are:

Geographical area: Expands & contracts over time from American Southwest through Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Pacific Nicaragua.(See map, Figure 1)

Crops: Basic triad of corn, beans & squash plus tomatoes, avocados, chocolate, cactus fruit, cotton, rubber etc.

Monumental architecture: Massive stone temples, pyramids, palaces, administrative buildings, BALL COURTS, reservoirs and roads.

Pantheon of gods: Basic deities such as gods of fire & rain originate with the earliest Olmec civilization, c. 1500 B.C. Others develop over time. The names change but their attributes and functions have long continuity.

Rubber Ball game: A ritual team sport played on courts. The game, involved a solid rubber ball, special equipment and human sacrifice.

Cosmic View of opposing principals: good & evil, light & dark, Male & female etc.

Calendar Round: Use of two calendar systems, 260 day and a 365 day (52 year cycle)

Human Sacrifice as religious ritual.

Animal symbols: eagle, jaguar, serpent

Stepped stone pyramids

Urban Centers containing: markets, palaces, temples, administrative bldgs., reservoirs, roadways, BALL COURTS

Specialized labor
Caste-like society
Sumptuary laws regarding clothing, ornamentation etc.
State Control of market system & trade
City States
Slash & Burn agriculture
Use of a coa (digging stick) as agricultural tool
Irrigation systems
Organized Periodic Markets
Preciousness of jade as primary ritual medium
Theocratic Society
Ancestor Worship
Continuity of Cultural Traits over 3000 Years

THE PRECOLUMBIAN BALL GAME: RITUAL SPORT OF THE AMERICAS

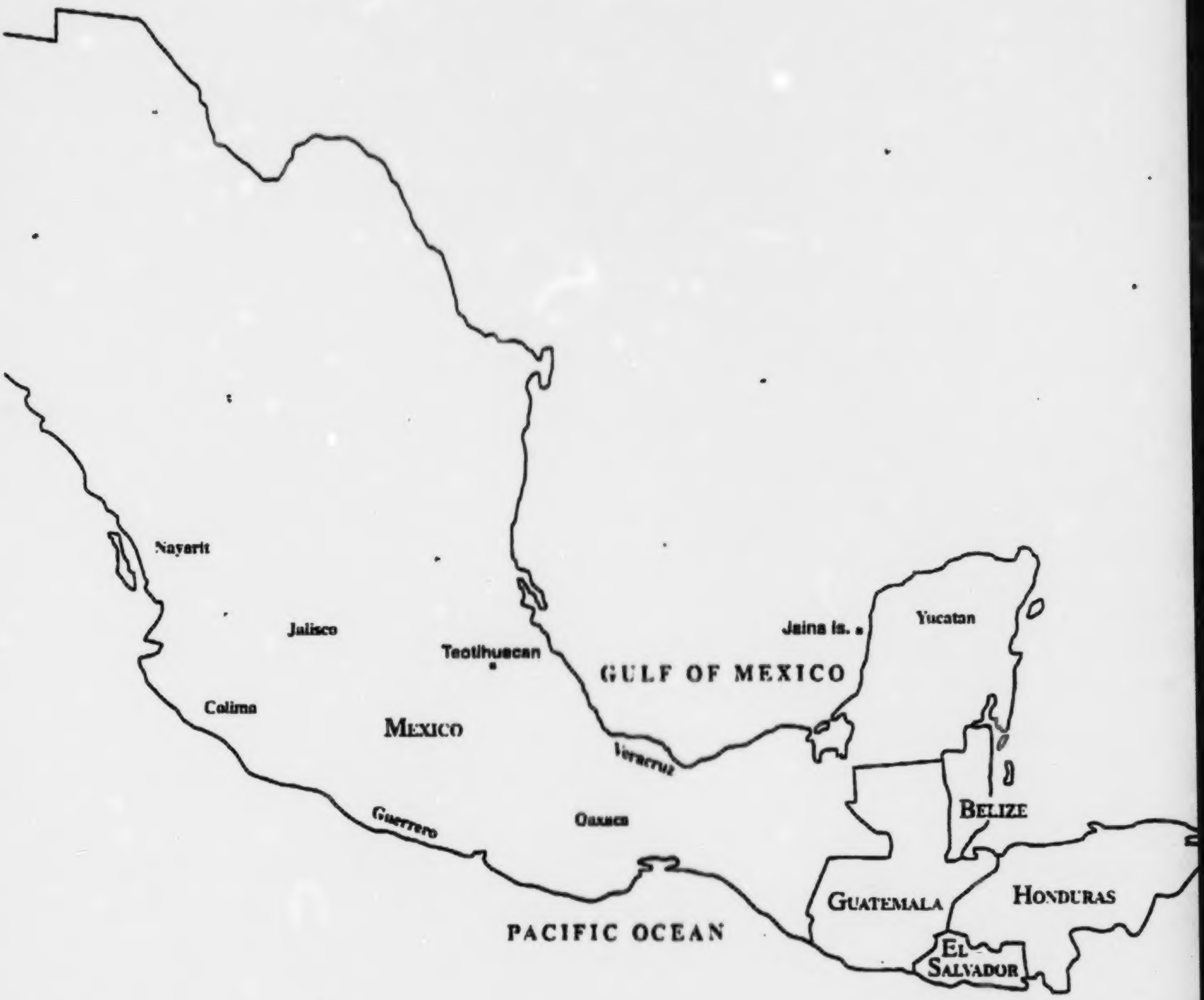
Jane Stevenson Day
Denver Museum of Natural History

INTRODUCTION

In Mesoamerica, long before the arrival of the first Europeans, there was an amazing enthusiasm for team sports on both a religious and secular level, an enthusiasm unequaled any other place until recent times. This vying of one group against another in team competition has remained a phenomena of American life and become a hallmark of 20th century culture around the world. Such modern games as basketball, soccer, football and many others carry on traditions established over 3000 years ago in the New World. The concept of playing as a team, the formal court/stadium settings, special ritual activities, standardized equipment, formal gear or uniforms, gambling, the prominence of professional players, the creation of heroes and the use of a rubber ball were all part of the sporting world of long ago just as they are today.

Modern games are most clearly linked to the Precolumbian past by their use of rubber balls. Rubber itself was a product of the New World, unknown in Europe and Asia before the arrival of Columbus in 1492. Old World games had utilized either leather or wooden balls and the bouncing rubber ball of the Americas was at first viewed by the amazed Spanish invaders as magical, an instrument of the devil. Soon after the Aztec conquest in 1521, Cortes took teams of players and numbers of rubber balls from Mexico back to Spain. There the Indian teams played for spectators at the royal court of Charles V. The superior elastic qualities of the New World ball quickly became appreciated and rubber replaced wood and leather in European sports.

1. MAP OF MESOAMERICA


Nayarit
Jalisco
Teotihuacan
Jaina Is.
Yucatan
GULF OF MEXICO
Colima
MEXICO
Veracruz
Guerrero
Oaxaca
BELIZE
HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
EL SALVADOR
PACIFIC OCEAN

THE PRECOLUMBIAN GAME:

The Mesoamerican Ball game began about 1500 B.C. on the Gulf Coast of Mexico. In this tropical rubber country the ancient tradition of formal teams, bouncing balls, gambling, religious rituals, trophies, heroes and ballcourt architecture developed. Eventually the concepts spread throughout Mesoamerica, into the American Southwest and onto the Caribbean islands. This game, played with a rubber ball, was one of the major elements of religious and secular life in the early civilizations of the New World.

ORIGINS:

The first evidence for the game appeared in the Olmec heartland of east coast Mexico as early as 3500 years ago. Deep in the sweltering jungles of Vera Cruz and Tabasco, this sport was played by Olmec kings, rulers of Mesoamerica's first great civilization. Immense stone heads of these rulers, each one marked by distinctive features and emblems, have been recovered from ancient sites such as San Lorenzo, La Venta and Tres Zapotes (figure 2). Some of these magnificent heads are as large as 10', others somewhat smaller, but all wear protective football style helmets and are thought to be depictions of ballplayers. In addition numbers of stone sculptures from the region depict men wearing thick Ball game yokes or belts. Stela, standing stone monuments, are also known from the area; some carry images of personages wearing Ball game equipment. Among the Olmec and in the many cultures that followed them, clay figurines wearing Ball game equipment are also well known (figure 3). Their heavy protective belts, kneepads and gloves clearly designate them as ballplayers. Recently actual rubber balls have been recovered from Manati (Stuart,1993:101), a site dating at least three thousand years ago. From the Olmec region the concept of the ritual rubber Ball game was carried along ancient trade routes, probably by priests or merchants, into other parts of Mesoamerica. Long after Olmec civilization had vanished the game continued as a hallmark of Precolumbian Mesoamerica. It was played by all succeeding pre-Hispanic cultures including the Maya, the Toltecs and the Aztecs.

2. OLMEC STONE HEAD

3. CERAMIC BALLPLAYER FIGURE WEARING YO

(HUASTEC CULTURE)

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RITES AND RITUALS:

The concept of the Mesoamerican Ball game had its origin in the cosmic view and religious beliefs of the Prehispanic peoples. In spite of changes over time into a more secular spectator sport, the game retained its ongoing religious significance for participants and audiences alike. While meaning behind the game undoubtedly varied across time and space, the most common interpretation sees the ball and its movement in the court as the movement of heavenly bodies in the sky. The game was viewed as a battle between the sun, and its life giving principle of light, against the moon and stars who represented the principle of darkness. The opposing forces of day and night, dark and light, good and evil, life and death were symbolically acted out on the ballcourt.

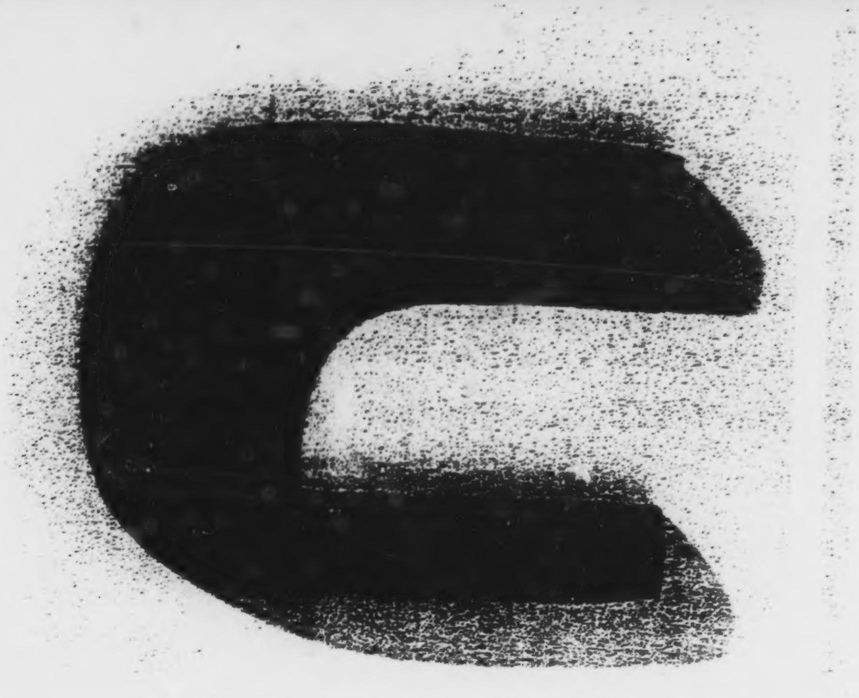
Clearly associated with this view of the game is the cult of fertility. There is a universal and enduring need of agricultural peoples everywhere for the productivity of the earth. This productivity depends on the lifegiving warmth and light of the sun and on the seasonal rains. Human sacrifice by decapitation is a recurring theme associated with BALL COURTS and Ball game imagery. The streams of blood that spurt from the decapitated victim may be seen as fertilizing or watering the earth or perhaps as an offering of sustenance to the sun in its battle against the forces of night.

In the Maya region this cosmic battle is seen in the creation myth of twin brothers who played a Ball game in the underworld against the gods of death and pestilence. Their victory against the forces of darkness resulted in their ascension into the sky, one becoming the sun and the other the moon. This legendary game of the hero twins appears to have been re-enacted on the BALL COURTS of the Classic Maya period by Maya kings dressed as ballplayers. They played the game against captives who had been taken in battle and then tortured and weakened in preparation for the staging of the event. In the final act of the game the royal winners sacrificed their opponents, thus reinforcing their own powerful image. Among the Maya the ballcourt itself seems to have been viewed as an entrance to the underworld, the opening in the earth where the hero twins descended to Xibalba to challenge the gods on the playing field.

Throughout Mesoamerica the game was accompanied by elaborate rites and ritual performances. Fasting and abstinence from sexual activity were required of ballplayers preceding the game and further preparation included incantations by priests and special prayers and offerings to help insure victory. Musicians playing conch shell trumpets, flutes, whistles and drums paraded with elaborately costumed dancers. Acrobats and magicians performed their tricks in the plazas and ritual dramas took place on the steps of the great pyramids, as kings and commoners gathered for the colorful celebration of the game and the blood sacrifice associated with it.

EQUIPMENT:

During the playing of the strenuous Ball game, athletes wore special equipment to protect them from injury and to help deflect and hit the ball. Equipment needs varied somewhat over time but most commonly headdresses or helmets protected the head, quilted cotton pads covered the elbows and knees and heavy belts or yokes, probably of leather or basketry, were worn around the waist (figures 3-4). These yokes, however, and special items known as Palmas, Hachas and Manoplas were also made in heavy stone and are clearly associated with the ancient Ball game (figure 4). They have been excavated from burials of ballplayers, and in the ruins of courts. In addition they are depicted on figurines, painted vessels, and stone carvings. It is not certain whether this bulky stone equipment was actually worn during the play of the game or whether it was made for ceremonial purposes; worn perhaps as contenders paraded into the court or at the end of the game during sacrificial or completion rituals. The yokes, even though they may weigh as much as 40 lbs, fit easily, even comfortably, around the hips of slender athletes and would have been extremely effective in returning the hard rubber ball. Manoplas, or handstones, would have been useful in hitting the ball or protecting a participants hand as he fell to the floor of the court in play. Palmas and hachas, however, seem to have little purpose in the game. The palmas, shown worn at the front of the yoke, are too fragile to have survived the rigorous play. The hachas, which dangle from the belt or yoke, at first glance also seem useless adornments. Many of them, however, are in the shape of human, skeletal or animal heads and may relate to an ancient tradition when the game was associated with a headhunting cult. Members of such a cult might have hung from their belts the trophy heads taken in battle. Hachas perhaps reflect this symbolism and its ancient relationship with the Ball game.



4. STONE YOKE

5. MAYA BALLCOURT: SITE OF MONTE ALBAN

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BALL COURTS:

Today in Mexico the clearest evidence for the rubber Ball game and its importance to Mesoamerican peoples is the presence of beautiful stone BALL COURTS (figure 5). Well over 600 Prehispanic BALL COURTS have been found and many more undoubtedly exist still covered over by jungle or modern towns. Throughout Mexico and in Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala gleaming white BALL COURTS, painted with brilliant colors were built in hundreds of ancient cities as centers of sport and ritual. At first the game may have been played on open marked fields rather than in courts, but early in the history of the sport formal architecture made its appearance. While there is some variation through time and from region to region, basically the form of courts remained the same over 3000 years. The BALL COURTS averaged 120 by 30 feet, though some were small enough to contain only two players at a time and a few others were as large as a modern football field. Made of stone, covered with whitewashed stucco, these courts or stadiums were most often shaped like a capital I. Parallel masonry walls enclosed a long narrow playing alley which sometime had end zones. The walls could be either straight or sloped and were often adorned with tenoned stone sculptures of birds, jaguars, plumed serpents and skeletal heads. At some sites carved stone friezes depicting post game rituals of human sacrifice decorated the courts. After about A.D. 800 stone rings were added at the central point of both walls suggesting a change in the rules of the game during what is known as the Postclassic Period of Mesoamerica (900-1525 A.D.).

PLAYING THE GAME:

With the arrival of Cortes in 1519, the game was recorded by Spanish soldiers and priests. Some of these documents still survive and give us clear written descriptions of the Precolumbian game as it was played by the Aztecs. The game, known in Nahuatl (the Aztec language) as Ullamalitzli, was played by the nobility of the Precolumbian world and by their professional teams; it was truly a sport of kings. Both a competitive contest and a ritual ceremony, the game held religious and secular significance for players and spectators alike. Teams competed on a formal stone court, known in the Aztec period as a tlatchli. Against the long parallel walls of the playing alley the rubber ball was bounced from team to team and passed among the players. Points were scored when opposing ball players missed a shot at the vertical hoops placed at the center point of the side walls, were unable to return the ball to the opposing team before it had bounced a second time, or allowed the ball to bounce outside the boundaries of the court. The ball itself was of solid rubber and weighed around 6-8 pounds; injuries or even death could occur from its impact on vital parts of the body. A number of ways of playing the game are known; one used a bat, another used a paddle or padded hands to hit the ball and still another allowed the ball to be kicked with the feet. However, in the dominant and best known form of the game, the ball could only be struck with the hips, buttocks, knees, or elbows. It drew many spectators and almost always involved heavy gambling. According to Aztec records, nobles and commoners alike often staked all they owned, land, crops, jewelry and even their wives and children on the results of the game.

STAKES OF THE GAME:

Athletes have always risked their lives, health and reputations on the outcome of games and spectators have also had major stakes in sports through betting and gambling on the contests. This was as true in ancient Mesoamerica as it is today, only in the prehispanic period staking your life on the game might be literally true. At the end of major ritual competitions the captain of the defeated team actually lost his head. In illustrations from Precolumbian books such as the Codex Borgia and on carved stone friezes decorating the parallel walls of magnificent BALL COURTS at the sites of Chichen Itza and El Tajin, the decapitation of one team captain by the other, or by a priest, is clearly depicted. The traditional implement of sacrifice was an obsidian knife, the sharpest tool known in the Precolumbian world. It cleanly and quickly dispatched the losing hero and sent him on his way as a sacrificial offering, or perhaps messenger, to the demanding gods.

While human sacrifice was an essential element of the Precolumbian Ball game and players in the great ceremonial courts at urban centers must have been well aware of the possibility of death with the obsidian blade, other significant stakes were also attached to the sport. In spite of protective equipment, injuries from the heavy solid rubber ball were common and players were often carried severely hurt from the BALL COURTS to be attended by physicians. But the dangers were apparently considered insignificant compared to the glory which was attained by the greatest players. According to the Spanish chronicles, these professional athletes often became the companions and intimates of kings and were awarded honors and special privileges at court. Most honored of all was the player who actually managed to send the ball through one of the stone rings placed at the center of each wall of the court. Usually the game was won by the accumulation of points because the passing of the ball through the ring was so difficult that as soon as it happened the game was over and:

> The man who sent the ball through the stone ring was surrounded by all. They honored him, sang songs of praise to him, and joined him in dancing. He was given a very special award of feathers or mantles and breechcloths, something very highly prized. But what he most prized was the honor involved: that was his great wealth. For he was honored as a man who had vanquished many and had won a battle.
>
> Fray Diego Duran, **Book of the Gods Rites and the Ancient Calendar**, p.315. Translators: Fernando Horcasitas and Doris Heyden, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman,1977.

Gambling was an essential part of the contest and players and spectators alike laid wagers on the outcome of the game. Diego Duran (1977: 3 describes the disasters that addictive gambling by people of low status might bring:

> They ... gambled their homes, their fields, their corn granaries, their maguey plants. They sold their children in order to bet and even staked themselves and became slaves to be sacrificed later if they were not ransomed.

The nobility, who never seemed to lack the wealth to pay their gambling debts, played and watched the game more for recreational purposes. According to Duran it was important to have the backing of great wealth in order to take part in the sport. Rulers even played the game for kingdoms, as when Axayacatl, emperor of the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan, wagered his yearly wealth against that of Xihuitlemoc, the king of Xochimilco.

The players themselves also gambled on the game. In addition, at least during the Aztec period, the winning team could accumulate wealth through a tradition that allowed them, at the end of the contest, to run into the watching crowd and seize jewelry of gold and jade as well as rich clothing and accouterments from the spectators.

A PERIPHERAL REGION: THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST

For over 500 years (A.D. 700-1250 A.D.) a Mesoamerican derived Ball game played with a rubber ball was widely known in the Hohokam region of Arizona. It probably reached the American southwest via trade routes from northwest Mexico and according to Wilcox (1992) may have served, as it did in the geographically and culturally allied regions of northwest Mexico, to resolve disputes and integrate population centers. In the southwest, from the present border with Mexico, north to Flagstaff, 206 BALL COURTS have been identified at 166 sites. The courts are oval with slightly concave floors, not the I shape of Mesoamerican playing fields; however, with their smoothed surfaces and parallel walls they are functionally suitable for playing a form of the Ball game. Rubber balls have also been recovered at Arizona sites, further confirming the strong connection between the Hohokam and Prehispanic Mexican civilizations to the south.

MODERN GAMES

Recently it has become apparent that remnants of Precolumbian ball games still exist. At least two versions continue to be played by modern indigenous peoples. One, a Mixtec game, is centered in the Oaxaca Valley; the another, Ulama, is played in northwestern Mexico.

The Mixtec Ball game:

Today in the Mixtec region of Mexico, a Ball game derived from the prehispanic sport is still played. The game originates in the highland valley of Oaxaca but is also played in other areas where Zapotec and Mixtec immigrants from Oaxaca have settled, such as Mexico City and San Diego, California. The game appears to be a throwback to an ancient Mesoamerican handball game. It is played on a court about 300 feet long by 30 feet wide, marked out on a field with lines. The two open ends of the court are called the serving and return areas; here is placed a flat stone on which the ball is bounced for the serve. A solid rubber ball is used in play and is hit with a glove or gauntlet which may weigh up to 14 lbs. The specially made leather glove is padded on the palm with layers of hide and reinforced on the outer surface with roundheaded rivets to protect the part of the hand most directly in contact with the heavy rubber ball. Teams are composed of five players who once the ball has been served must continue to return it either before it touches the ground or after it has bounced only once. Points are scored when one team manages to get the ball out of reach of the opposition, so that it bounces out of bounds on the side or end zones and cannot be returned.

While a handball game was never described by the Spanish, we know such a game was played during the Precolumbian period. Many figurines hold balls in their hands, codices (Prehispanic books) depict handball games and wall murals at Teotihuacan, the greatest of all ancient sites, show such a game being played.

ULAMA

In the modern state of Sinaloa, located in northwestern Mexico, a current version of the ancient game is also still played. Its name, Ulama, is even derived from the Precolumbian Aztec name of 500 years ago (ullamalitzli) and solid rubber balls are still carefully made to be used by the competing teams. However little of the former splendor of the Precolumbian game survives today. The colorful costumes, religious ritual and elaborate stone courts have vanished with time but the genetic relationship is clear. When a game is to be played a court is marked off with lines in an open field. This playing field, usually about 200 ft. by 12 ft., is carefully smoothed and leveled to avoid erratic bounces of the ball. Two forms of the game are played; one known as arm Ulama and the other as hip Ulama. As the names indicate, one is played by returning the ball with the hip or buttocks, as is recorded for the Aztecs; the other by hitting the ball with a wrapped forearm. Arm and knee protectors are used in the arm game. In hip ulama players wear a triangular deerskin tied around the waist and, as a hip guard, a heavy leather belt which protects the lower abdomen from the impact of the ball and provides protection when the player swoops against the ground to lift the ball with his hip for a return. Players line up in a straight line on their own half of the court, between the center dividing line and the baseline. At each of these lines an umpire is stationed. The ball may be hit either high (arriba) or low (abajo) with hip or forearm depending on the game, but must not be touched with any other part of the body, including hands and feet. The umpire/judge at the center line rolls or throws the ball into the court to begin play. The first team to get 8 points (rayas) is the winner. Points are scored by body faults (receiving or hitting the ball with the wrong part of the body), and service and rally faults which occur when the ball goes beyond the baseline , does not cross the center line, or bounces more than once. The scoring, however, is extremely complicated. Not only do points accumulate but, based on what combinations of points occur and when, scores may go down as well as up, often making for a very long games some lasting over a two day period (Leyenaar, 1978).

AFTERMATH

With the coming of the Spanish in 1519 and the defeat of the Aztecs in 1521 the ritual rubber Ball game began to decline. The Spanish priests quickly recognized its religious significance to the indigenous peoples of New Spain and early in the Mexican Colonial Period the Ball game, and what the Catholic church viewed as its pagan rituals, were prohibited. During the ensuing centuries the splendid courts were torn down or covered over with jungle growth and the game was almost forgotten.

Yet in spite the attempt by Colonial Spain to force the game out of existence the heritage of prehispanic Mesoamerica lingers on in the sporting traditions of the modern world. The continuities from past into present are strong. Indeed we are all heirs of the Precolumbian past as we participate in team sports played with bouncing rubber balls.

FIGURES:

1. Map of Mesoamerica

2. Olmec Stone Head

3. Ceramic Ball Player Figurine

4. Stone Yoke

5. Maya Ball Court: Site of Copan

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MESOAMERICA: GENERAL CHRONOLOGY

Early Preclassic:	**2000-900 B.C.**
Middle Preclassic:	**900-300 B.C.**
Late Preclassic:	**300 B.C.-A.D.200**
Classic Period:	**200-1000 A.D.**
Postclassic Period	**1000-1521 A.D.**

EQUIPMENT DEFINITIONS:

YOKES: A protective yoke or belt in a U shape worn around the hips or waist. It is found made of basalt, either plain or elaborately carved. Forms in leather, cotton or basketry were probably actually worn by players during the game.

Hachas: Stone ax shaped objects, at times in the shape of a head. Worn attached to the yoke and often found in burials.

PALMAS: Palmleaf-shaped stone objects associated with the Ball game. Often shown attached to the yokes.

MANOPLAS: Handstones with handles, probably used to hit the ball or protect the hand.

GLOVES: worn by players for protection. Depicted on figurines, pottery and stone carvings.

MAXTLATL: A loincloth worn around the waist of male players.

KNEE PROTECTORS: Padding worn to protect the knee against falls on the stone courts or blows of the ball.

ARM WRAPPINGS: Wrapped cotton strips worn to protect the arm against falls or blows from the ball.

HELMETS: Headgear worn to protect the head from the heavy ball.

DEFLECTORS: A yoke-like protector, part of the costume worn by Maya ballplayers. Extends from just below the armpits to hip level. Probably made of quilted cotton or basketry . Depicted on Maya figurines, pottery and stone.

Discussion Topics
Implications of Team Sports Past & Present

Playing on a Team
Standardization of Rules/ Equipment/Uniforms
Drama/Music/Color in Sports
Monetary Considerations
Rewards for Players & Participants
Gambling
Ritual Activities
Designed Architecture
Implication of Heroes
Stakes of the Game
Community Integration
Cultural Integration
Sports as a Substitute for War
How Concepts Spread/Defuse
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Cultural Continuities
Relationship to European Games & Sports

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SOUTHEAST ASIA IN WORLD HISTORY

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OUTLINE

Introduction

1. A Region of Complexity

2. Southeast Asia in Prehistory (to 500 BCE) [homo erectus, Ban Chiang]

3. "Southernization" and the Emergence of Ancient Societies (500 BCE-800 CE)

   ["Indianization"]

4. The "Golden Age" of the Classical Civilizations (800-1400 CE) [Angkor/Khmers]

5. The Rise of the Vietnamese Nation (500 BCE-1800 CE)

6. Global Influences and the Transformation of the Classical States (1200-1500 CE)

   [Mongols, Theravada Buddhism, Sunni Islam]

7. The Florescence of the Maritime Trading Networks (300-1500 CE) [Melaka, "Darul Islam"]

8. Postclassical Southeast Asia and the Widening World (1400-1800 CE)

9. Western Colonialism and Southeast Asian Responses (1800-2000 CE)

SOUTHEAST ASIA IN WORLD HISTORY[1]

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In various essays and reviews over the past 15 years I have noted how world history texts have tended to ignore Southeast Asia, rendering the region practically invisible before the 19th century.[2] In the Anglo-American view of world history, "Asia" has meant essentially China and India, with perhaps a brief nod to Japan. When Southeast Asia finally appeared in a few brief paragraphs it was usually in the context of nationalism, decolonization and Cold War global rivalries. The prevailing attitude toward Southeast Asia and its peoples seemed to be similar to that once expressed about African history by renowned British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper: "The unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe."[3]

Even with the trend toward a more globalcentric world history in the past decade or so only a couple of college-level texts offer anything like reasonable coverage of this important region, a particularly unfortunate lacuna given that some 4 million people of Southeast Asian background now live in the U.S. and this country has been deeply involved politically, economically and militarily in the region for well over a century. In this essay I want to identify several key themes that closely connected Southeast Asia to what Marshall Hodgson called the wider Afro-Eurasian Historical Complex and hence can serve as a basis on which to integrate Southeast Asia into world history as more than a sidelight of marginal importance.[4] I will emphasize the premodern period, since that is scarcely known in the United States, but also offer some thoughts on the past two centuries.

A Region of Complexity

The analysis begins with some brief general comments. Southeast Asia is generally defined as the "subcontinental" region lying south of China and east of India; it stretches from Burma eastward to Vietnam and the Philippines and southward through the Indonesian archipelago.[5] Containing roughly half of the total land area of Europe or China-Korea (but about the same as South Asia), it is also separated from the Eurasian landmass by significant mountain and water barriers that are presumed to define a continent; hence, if Europe qualifies (a dubious assertion), why not Southeast Asia? For that matter, South Asia and China-Korea, each similar in size to Europe, blocked by truly formidable oceans, deserts and mountains from neighbors, and with populations at least as distinctive as Europe's, clearly should be considered comparable geographical categories.

Like northwestern and southwestern Europeans Southeast Asian peoples developed on the fringes of great, expansive, densely populated civilizations. Yet, the Southeast Asian societies evolved in a geographical and tropical climatic environment somewhat different from their large neighbors to the north and west, producing cultural patterns influenced by both China and India but demonstrating many unique characteristics as well. Indeed, the variety of religions, political systems, world views, customs, languages, and economic patterns that emerged was far more diverse than Europe. The division, which accelerated over the past 500 years, between the predominantly Buddhist mainland societies and the mostly Muslim Indonesian archipelago and Malay Peninsula is particularly significant.

For many centuries Southeast Asians, like Europeans and Japanese, have been receptive to influences emanating from outside. Traditionally China and India provided political, religious, and cultural ideas, although the impact of these varied greatly from society to society. Later, the Middle East, Europe and finally North America would provide some models, in the latter two cases imposed in part by force. Yet, despite centuries of borrowing and sometimes foreign conquest, Southeast Asians rarely became carbon copies of their mentors; they took ideas that they wanted from outsiders and, like the Japanese and Europeans, adapted them to their own indigenous values and institutions, creating in the process a synthesis (many historians now reject the hoary myth of European civilization developing in some hermetically-sealed environment of "local genius", recognizing the substantial influences filtering in to the region from the Near East, East Asia, India and the Islamic realm). Historians are impressed with the resilience and strength of the many indigenous beliefs and traditions that have survived the centuries of borrowing and change. In many Southeast Asian societies women long held a higher status and played a more active public role, including dominating small-scale commerce, than was true in China, India, the Middle East, and even Europe.

Southeast Asia in Prehistory (to 500 BCE)

Human habitation in Southeast Asia is very ancient.[6] Over thousands of years, *Homo erectus* had migrated out of Africa. Bones and tools found in Chinese caves as well as skulls unearthed on Java have been dated (using controversial new techniques) to 1.6 to 1.9 million years ago, an astonishingly early date. These finds have led some specialists to believe that *Homo erectus* was widespread in Southeast Asia by 1,500,000 years ago and probably earlier, raising serious speculation that some important human evolution occured in Asia. A few remnant *Homo erectus* populations may have survived in remote areas for some millennia, perhaps living alongside *Homo sapiens*. Fossils found in Java are only between 27,000 and 53,000 years old.[7] Finds in Central Java and northern Borneo suggest that homo sapiens have resided there for at least 40,000 years. Archeological discoveries in Thailand, Vietnam and Burma over the past several decades, although controversial in their interpretation, suggest that the early inhabitants were also pioneers in the development of agriculture and metalworking. The most extensive study, at Ban Chiang in Thailand, traces settlement there back to 3600 BCE.

The transition from a hunting and gathering to a food producing economy based on agriculture and animal domestication constituted one of the most significant events in prehistory. Some scholars now believe that the peoples of Ban Chiang and other regional neolithic sites may have developed metallurgy, including bronze, and certain types of horticulture at least as early as other ancient peoples, perhaps even earlier. Some archeologists believe the evidence points to food production in mainland SEA as early as 9700 BCE, which would make it more ancient than the Middle East. Conceivably as soon as 8000 BCE, roughly contemporary to Western Asia, people in northern Vietnam may have commenced foodgrowing. Disputed evidence from

Thailand based on the remains of seeds for peas, beans, water chestnuts and other edible plants may push it back another millennium. Many specialists remain unconvinced, although they concede that the Neolithic began early there, perhaps by 6000 or 7000 BCE. Rice was first domesticated in the general region, with rice husks from Thailand dated to 5000 BCE; Southeast Asians may also have been the pioneers in cultivating bananas, yams, and taro, and likely first domesticated chickens and pigs, perhaps even cattle. Fine bronze was already being produced in northeast Thailand by 1500 BCE. Iron was worked as early as 500 BCE, roughly contemporary to China. These early Southeast Asians also built sophisticated sailing vessels capable of maritime activity.

Over the course of some 5,000 years peoples speaking Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) languages migrated into Southeast Asia from the north, spreading out around the archipelago and pushing across the Pacific as far as Hawaii, Tahiti and New Zealand as well as westward to the island of Madagascar (much of whose population derives from Indonesian migrants who arrived 1500-2000 years ago). Indonesians were apparently the major seafaring traders of Asia several centuries before the beginning of the Common Era; they pioneered the commerce between China and India and also carried Southeast Asian foods (especially bananas) and musical instruments to East Africa, where they were adopted by the peoples there.

"Southernization" and the Emergence of Ancient Civilizations (500 BCE-800 CE)

The chronic migration and mixing of peoples over the centuries was as important a theme in Southeast Asia as in Europe, Japan or southern and eastern Africa. This process closely resembled migrations and assimilation of various "barbarian" peoples in Western Europe (Vandals, Visigoths, Franks, etc.) as well as the spread of Bantu peoples in Africa through the first millennium of the Common Era. As early as 500 BCE a few small states had coalesced in the lowlands, especially in Cambodia and Vietnam, based on irrigated rice agriculture, just as sedentary farming peoples (like the Greeks) were establishing vigorous polities along the northern Mediterranean basin.[8] By 2000 years ago sophisticated civilizations with variegated class systems were emerging in the river valleys, carrying on complex maritime trade with each other and practicing animism.

Around this time China and India began exercising a stronger influence; China even colonized Vietnam in the 2nd century BCE. Some scholars see these contacts as a generator of statebuilding, others as a response to it. Indian traders and priests began regularly traveling the oceanic trade routes, settling in some of the mainland and island states.[9] They brought with them Indian concepts of religion, government, and the arts. At the same time Southeast Asian sailors were visiting India and returning with new ideas. Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism became a strong influence in a process often termed "Indianization" (or, more recently, "southernization"), which continued over many centuries and synthesized Indian with indigenous ideas. This occurred about the same time as classical Greco-Roman civilization was spreading around the Mediterranean in a similar process. During the Gupta Era (320-550 CE) northern India was enjoying its "Golden Age" of development and was probably the most advanced civilization in the world in science, technology and political organization; it provided a natural model for Southeast Asians. For a millennium many Southeast Asian peoples would now be closely connected to the more populous and developed civilizations of southern Asia, partaking in the general historical trends of the Afro-Eurasian Historical Complex to a greater degree than most of the peoples on the western and northern fringes of post-imperial Europe.

The "Golden Age" of the Classical Civilizations (800-1400 CE)

Due partly to the stimulus from outside, the great classical states developed near the end of the first millennium CE, with their main centers in what is today Cambodia, Burma, the Indonesian islands of Java and Sumatra, and Vietnam, which managed to throw off the 1000 year Chinese colonial yoke in the 10th century. Most historians refer to this era as the Classical Age, in a narrow sense dating from around 800 to 1400 CE. In this period many Southeast Asian states made brilliant and selective use of Indian models in shaping their political and cultural patterns.

The greatest classical state was the Khmer kingdom of Angkor, which at its height in the 12th-13th centuries had a loosely-integrated empire controlling much of present day Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and southern Vietnam; this vigorous, substantial imperial polity, which flourished for half a millennium, compared favorably to the fragmented states of medieval Europe, bearing some resemblance to the expansive Carolingian realm.[10] Using amazing engineering skills and massive amounts of conscripted labor, the inhabitants built a series of magnificent temples and developed an extensive hydraulic network for efficient water distribution, exhibiting some of the most advanced civil engineering in the premodern world. Indeed, the Khmers may have had the most productive agriculture in history, producing 3 to 4 crops a year; only a few peoples (such as the Chinese) could even come close to matching Khmer farming capabilities. The well-financed government was able to support substantial public services including a system of hospitals, schools and libraries.

By the 12th century the bustling capital city, Angkor Thom, and its immediate environs had a substantial population, perhaps as many as one million, much larger than any medieval European city but comparable to all but the largest Chinese and Arab cities of that era. This was clearly one of the major urban complexes in the world, suggesting the fruits of agricultural surplus. The most famous of the many Hindu temple complexes was Angkor Wat, the largest religious building in the world, built in the 12th century and dwarfing the magnificent cathedrals of Europe and grand mosques of Baghdad or Cairo. There was an active and multifaceted trade with China and many resident Chinese merchants. Women played a much more important role in society and politics than most other places in the world, due in part due to a pronounced matrilineal tradition. Women dominated the palace staff, and some were even gladiators and warriors; they also operated most of the retail stalls. Chinese visitors were shocked at their liberated behavior. Women were also active in the arts, including the national passion for poetry.

The Rise of the Vietnamese Nation (500 BCE-1800 CE)

Vietnam also constituted an important classical state after the end of Chinese colonial rule.[11] China's conquest had arrested the independent evolution of one of the earliest Southeast Asian polities. Chinese policy had been to assimilate the Vietnamese and implant Chinese values, customs, and institutions. But while the Vietnamese did indeed adopt enough of these patterns to sometimes be misleadingly labeled "the smaller dragon", they sustained a hatred of Chinese rule and resisted cultural genocide for a thousand years, an astonishing display of national pride and determination practically unparalleled in world history. Some historians have noted an ancient and perhaps unprecedented sense of nationhood that facilitated resistance to absorption, a special Vietnamese collective identity of some sort. Hence, the colonial period was punctuated by many revolts, many led by women, all of them well-remembered today as symbols of patriotism. The rebels often fought for decades against hopeless odds.

The independent Vietnamese state began to play a more aggressive role in Southeast Asia and wisely maintained many political and ideological patterns emanating from China, the most successful and sophisticated civilization in eastern Asia, arguably indeed the world, between the 7th and 17th centuries. Many Asians naturally sought to emulate the prestigious Chinese. Vietnam even became a vassal state, sending regular tribute missions in order to placate China. The Vietnamese became masters at resisting foreign invasions. Some historians believe the Vietnamese also possessed a unique sense of peoplehood, perhaps even of nation, centuries before such ideas developed in Europe that greatly facilitated Vietnamese survival in a sometimes dangerous regional geopolitical environment over the centuries. The Vietnamese nation became one of the longest enduring acts of faith in human history.[12] Hence Vietnam existed and often flourished on the fringes of the great Chinese civilization, interacting regularly with her northern neighbor, but also forging an independent dynamism and spirit.

Global Influences and the Transformation of the Classical States (1200-1500 CE)

Except for Vietnam the great classical states gradually came to an end between the 13th and 16th centuries, for a variety of complex reasons both internal and external. The Mongols destroyed the great Burmese kingdom of Pagan, but were unable to extend their domination into Southeast Asia generally. Hence Southeast Asians were among the few peoples to successfully resist persistent efforts at integrating them into the vast and powerful Mongol empire, a tribute to their skill and might as well as their distance from the Eurasian heartland. Angkor, already weakened by costly military expansion, increasing taxes and forced labor to support temple building, and growing neglect of the hydraulic system, was eventually unable to resist invasions by the Thai-Lao peoples migrating down from China. The empire disintegrated and the capital was abandoned.

Another force, religion, was also at work. By the late classical period two of the great universal religions were filtering peacefully into the region: Theravada Buddhism and Islam.

Theravada Buddhism from Ceylon, a tolerant religion emphasizing individual responsibility, becoming the dominant religion of the major mainland societies (except Vietnam) by incorporating the rich animism of the peasant villages and the Hinduism of the courts. Islam of the Sunni school arrived from the Middle East and India, spreading widely in the archipelago while gradually displacing or incorporating animism and Hinduism; it was closely tied to international trade. Through this process Southeast Asia became even more firmly linked to the civilizations of Southern and Western Asia. These trends inaugurated a new era sometimes termed the Post-Classical, that would persist until the acceleration of European conquest in the 19th century.

The Florescence of the Maritime Trading Networks (300-1500 CE)

The Straits of Melaka between Sumatra and Malaya had long served as a crossroads through which peoples, cultures, and trade passed or took root in the area, with peoples of many societies following the maritime trade to this region.[13] The prevailing climatic patterns in the South China Sea and Indian ocean of alternating monsoon winds allowed ships sailing southwest from China, Vietnam and Cambodia and southeast from India and Burma to meet in the vicinity of the Straits, where their goods could be exchanged, a process that had already commenced by 200 BCE. Sumatra and Malaya had long enjoyed international reputations as sources of gold, tin and exotic forest products. Between the 4th and 6th centuries CE the overland trading routes between China and the West (the "Silk Road") were closed off by developments in central Asia, increasing the important of the oceanic connection. Gradually a more complex and increasingly integrated maritime trading system emerged that linked the eastern Mediterranean, Middle East, East African coast, Persia, and India with the societies of East and Southeast Asia; over this network the precious spices of Indonesia (especially cloves, nutmeg and pepper), the gold and tin of Malaya, and the silks and tea of China traveled to Europe, sparking interest there in reaching the sources of these eastern riches. Inevitably then a vigorously mercantile variation of Indianized classical culture would emerge to capitalize on this growing exchange.

Beginning in the 14th century a new pattern of world trade was developing that more closely linked Asia, Europe and parts of Africa. There was no particular center but Southeast Asia became an essential intermediary as long voyages were replaced by shorter hops and more frequent transhipment. This enhanced the value of regional ports and a half dozen distinct commercial zones arose in Southeast Asia. Southeast Asian peoples like the Malays and Javanese played active roles in the interregional trade, which also spurred the growth of cities. Many places merchants were becoming a more powerful group in local politics, a pattern that might eventually have led to the sort of capitalism that developed in defeudalizing Europe had not Europeans later gained increasing control of the maritime trade beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries, very much undermining the growing indigenous commercial dynamism. Changes in the international maritime economy beginning around 1400 fostered an unprecedented commercial prosperity and an increasing cultural cosmopolitanism, most especially in the archipelago. A new type of maritime trading state arose to handle the increased amounts of local products dispatched to distant markets.

By the 14th century Islam was well-established in northern Sumatra and Islamic merchants (mostly Arabs and Indians) were spreading the religion along the great Indian Ocean maritime trading routes. The arrival of Islam coincided with the rise of the great port of Melaka (Malacca), on the southwest coast of Malaya, which became the region's political and economic power as well as the crossroads of Asian commerce.[14] During the 1400s Melaka was a flourishing trading port attracting merchants from many lands including Chinese, Arabs, Persians, Vietnamese, Burmese, Jews and Indians; there were said to be 15,000 merchants and more ships in the harbor than any port in the known world, induced by stable government and a free trade policy. Melaka's rulers sent tributary missions to China and made their port an important waystation for the series of grand Chinese voyages to the Western Indian Ocean in the early 15th century led by Admiral Cheng Ho (Zheng He), the greatest seafaring expeditions in history to that point. Soon Melaka became the southeastern terminus for the great Indian ocean maritime trading network and one of the major commercial centers in the world, very much a rival to Calicut, Cambay, Canton, Hormuz, Alleppo, Alexandria, Genoa and Venice; it is not difficult to argue it was superior to all its farflung rivals. An early 16th century Portuguese visitor noted the importance of Melaka to peoples and trade patterns as far away as Western Europe: "Melaka is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world... Commerce between different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Melaka... Whoever is lord of Melaka has his hands on the throat of Venice".[15]

The global religion of Islam and the expansion of commerce developed simultaneously in many places, ultimately creating a Darul Islam ("Abode of Islam"), an interlinked Islamic world stretching from Morocco, Spain and the West African Sudan to the Balkans, Turkestan, Mozambique, Indonesia, and China, and joined by a common faith and trade connections; Islamic merchants and sailors became central to the great Afro-Eurasian maritime trading network. By the mid-15th century Melaka had become the main center for the propagation of Islam in the Malay peninsula and Indonesian archipelago.

Post-Classical Southeast Asia and the Widening World (1400-1800 CE)

By Eurasian standards Southeast Asia was sparsely populated during the Post-Classical era, with perhaps 15-20 million people by the 1400s (a fifth of them in Vietnam). This was dwarfed by the dense populations of nearby China (100-150 million) and India (100 million); Europe contained about 50 million.[16] Although population densities were relatively low, a large proportion were concentrated in major cities and fertile rice-growing districts. Major cities like Ayuthia, Melaka and Hanoi each probably contained around 100,000 residents, making them as large as the major European urban centers like Naples and Paris but small by Chinese standards. Many Southeast Asians enjoyed good health, varied diets and adequate material resources, certainly in comparison to a Europe engulfed in disease (the "Black Death") and feudalistic strife. Southeast Asia had long been a cosmopolitan region where peoples, ideas and products met. The intrepid Italian traveler Marco Polo had passed through in 1292 on his way home from a long China sojourn; his writings praised the wealth and sophistication of Indochina, Java and Sumatra, fostering European interest in these seemingly fabulous lands. The Moroccan Ibn Battuta stopped by on his way to China in his lifelong tour of Darul Islam in the 14th century.

By beginning of the 16th century a few Portuguese explorers and adventurers, who came from a country with superior military technology, unparalleled missionary zeal and a compelling appetite for wealth but a standard of living little if any higher than that of Siam, Vietnam, Melaka or Java, would enter Southeast Asia in search of "Christians and spices". They were the forerunners of what would ultimately be a powerful and destabilizing European presence to gradually alter the history of the region between 1500 and 1900 CE. The Europeans would prove the bloodiest of the new forces reaching the region in the early Post-Classical era.

The Portuguese conquest of Melaka in 1511 and the Spice Islands of Eastern Indonesia a few years later marked the beginning of a turning point for the region; they would be followed in the next several centuries by the Spanish (who colonized the Philippines), Dutch (Java and the Spice Islands), English, French and finally Americans, products of a Western world rapidly transformed by expansionism, capitalism and later industrialization. First the Portuguese and then the Dutch gained control of the Indian Ocean maritime trade by force, altering its character and diminishing its vibrancy. Eventually the Western powers would impact nearly all the societies of Southeast Asia in various ways and, by the beginning of the 20th century, had colonized the entire region except for adaptable Siam. Still, Southeast Asian states like Siam, Vietnam, Burma, Johor and Acheh were strong enough that it took 400 years of persistent effort for Westerners to gain complete political, social and economic domination. Once an equal of Europe, the region gradually became a dependency. The Post-classical era and then the disastrous colonial period that followed would make Southeast Asia a very different place from what it had been during the classical period, although many elements of continuity remained important and have persisted into the contemporary age.

The period between the 13th and 19th centuries is sometimes pictured as static in comparison to the vigor of the classical era or the dynamism of the 19th-20th centuries. But recent scholarship challenges this view, suggesting an "age of commerce" at least down to the 1700s that was accompanied by urbanization, religious change and the strengthening of the pattern of absolute monarchies. Just as Europe was in transition from feudalism to capitalism and absolute monarchy during this period, with profound consequences in all phases of life, this was a time of transformation for Southeast Asia toward somewhat more economically dynamic systems. Southeast Asia became an even more crucial part of the developing world economy, with the Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish exporting luxury items like Indonesian spices but also bulk products like tin, sugar, and rice from their newly-colonized possessions. The Manila Galleons which annually transhipped agricultural products as well as Chinese silk and porcelain from the Philippines to Mexico for distribution in Spanish America and Europe symbolized the new reality; vast amounts of silver to pay for these items was carried westward across the Pacific, draining Spanish imperial coffers. But until the 19th century the West was neither dominant in political nor economic spheres except in a few widely-scattered outposts and the still peripheral European interlopers had to compete with Chinese, Arab, and Southeast Asian merchants as well as local mercantile states. The economic changes were paralleled by more intensive agricultural growth, population increase (to around 35 million by 1800), migration, and a pronounced trend toward more bureaucratic polities.

Western Colonialism and Southeast Asian Responses (ca. 1800-2000 CE)

By the 18th century the widespread commercial society was beginning to collapse under the weight of accelerating Western activity (military and economic) combined with internal strife, increasingly expensive government structures, a decline in world trade, and climate change. So the West did not come into a decaying and impoverished region but rather a wealthy, open and dynamic one. By the 19th century little was left of this once vibrant local society as Western powers began to expand or intensify their colonial enterprise. During the 1800s the Dutch and Spanish increased their consolidation of power throughout the Indonesian and Philippine archipelagos respectively, often through military means, the French completed their 30 year effort to conquer Vietnam against bitter resistance, and the British annexed Burma, Malaya and northern Borneo. Only Siam (later Thailand), thanks to enlightened leadership and sheer good luck, would be able to salvage its political independence but at the cost of territorial loss and economic neocolonialism. Between 1898 and 1902 the United States displaced Spain from the Philippines and then asserted colonial control after the military suppression of local nationalist forces seeking independence. By the end of the century then the various Southeast Asian societies had become part of a global system dominated economically and politically by various Western European nations and the United States, more firmly connecting these peoples to global patterns.[17]

The much greater degree of integration of Southeast Asia into the rapidly expanding world economy and imperialism-driven sociopolitical system had profound consequences on the region's political, economic, social and cultural life, greatly reducing their autonomy and challenging traditional patterns. For example, between the mid-19th century and World War 11 the region became a major producer of raw materials needed by the industrializing West and its markets, including rubber, tin, coffee, rice, sugar, timber, gold and oil. Some of the major agricultural exports like rubber and coffee had originated in other parts of the world, part of the overall shuffling of the world's biota that accompanied the great era of exploration and colonization. Commercialization of land and proletarianization of labor shifted the balance to commodity exports rather than subsistence food growing and handicrafts. Colonialism served to transfer much wealth from Southeast Asia to the West; the Dutch, for example, based much of their industrialization on profits derived from their control of the enormously lucrative coffee and sugar exports from Indonesia while British, French and American capitalists derived extraordinary capital accumulation for investment from colonial enterprises in Malaya, Indochina, and the Philippines. It is hardly inaccurate to argue that the exploitation of their colonies in Southeast Asia and elsewhere was absolutely critical to the rise of Western wealth and power, indeed to Western modernization generally.

Millions of workers from other regions of Asia, especially China and India, migrated into the region temporarily or permanently, to undertake plantation labor, mining, or trade, helping reshape ethnic patterns and reshuffle genetic pieces. In some colonies immigrant Chinese and their descendants came to account for a substantial portion of the population; they also became generally dominant in the commercial sphere throughout the region. Today many top political leaders in countries like Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia are the descendants of Chinese or Indian immigrants. And Christianity from the West became a major regional religion, especially in the Philippines and, to a lesser extent, Vietnam and Malaya.

But the traffic in ideas was not entirely one way. Anticolonial nationalism, a major phenomenon of the 20th century world, can be said to have originated in the Philippines, in the struggle against the Spanish and then the Americans beginning in the second half of the 1800s, an inspiration to many colonized peoples. Indeed, the Philippine Revolution is sometimes called the first true war of national liberation, with astonishing parallels to the later ill-fated American experience in Vietnam.[18] Later the Vietnamese communists under Ho Chi Minh in their ultimately successful 50 year fight against French colonialism, Japanese occupation and then American intervention would stimulate a wave of revolutionary efforts to overthrow Western domination as well as a surge of student militancy in the West.[19] The fact that 19th century Filipino nationalist hero Jose Rizal, partly Chinese in ancestry, had lived for a time in Spain and Germany, while Ho Chi Minh had sojourned in London, Paris and Moscow as a young man, shows how interconnected the world had become. The Indonesian Revolution against the Dutch of the later 1940s would also have electrifying global effects, forcing a major colonial power to abandon its hegemony while giving hope to colonized Africans.

The Vietnamese defeat of the United States in 1975 certainly constitutes a major watershed in 20th century world history, marking the decline of the "American Century" of unrivaled economic, political and military power in the world. In the 1980s and 1990s several Southeast Asian nations (Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore and, to some extent, Indonesia) have generated some of the fastest growing economies in the world, joined soon, some believe, by Vietnam and the Philippines; these rapidly industrializing Little Tigers, with their distinctive mix of free market and state-stimulated economics with semi-authoritarian politics, are seen by many as the best available model for Third World development, a model that does facilitate some "trickle down" of wealth among the population as overall prosperity increases. With nearly 500 million people, 1 1/2 the size of Western Europe, the region already accounts for a substantial chunk of the world's population. Southeast Asia, then, with its long, rich connections to the wider world and persistent ability over the millennia to integrate ideas and institutions from abroad with varied but still powerful indigenous traditions, has made its mark on world history and will likely continue to do so in the near future.

ENDNOTES:

1. This essay is adapted in part from my much longer article, "Integrating Southeast Asia into the Framework of World History", *The History Teacher*, 29/1 (November, 1995), 7-35. Readers wanting more factual and bibliographic detail are referred to that article.

2. See.eg., "Integrating Southeast Asia", 7-35; "Global History, Modernization and the World-System Approach: A Critique", *The History Teacher*, 14/4 (August, 1981), 489-515; *The Rise and Changing Status of the Southeast Asian History Field in the United States: An Analytical Study* (Madison: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1986).

3. Quoted in Philip Curtin, "African History", in Michael Kammen, ed., *The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States* (Ithaca:Cornell University, 1980), p. 113. On Africa in world history, see my essay "Integrating African History Into the World History Course: Some Transregional Patterns", *World History Bulletin*, 10/1 (Fall/Winter, 1993-1994), 21-31.

4. For Hodgson's conception see his *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1993), esp. pp. 3-28. For a general introduction to the literature on world history see my "World History", Kelly Boyd, ed., *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, forthcoming). For my particular approach to world history, see my essays: "Global History, Modernization", 489-515; "National Standards and the 'Ownership' of World History", *The Review of Education/ Pedagogy/ Cultural Studies*, 17-3 (Aug., 1995, 265-277; "The Contributions of Philip Curtin and the 'Wisconsin School' to the Study and Promotion of Comparative World History", *Journal of Third World Studies*, 11/2 (Spring, 1994), 180-223.

5. For a general introduction to the important literature on Southeast Asian history see author's bibliographic essay "Southeast Asian History", in Kelly Boyd, ed., *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*. The following are some of the most useful works on premodern Southeast Asia: Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia* (New York: St. Martin's, 1982); Michael Aung-Thwin, "Spirals in Early Southeast Asian and Burmese History", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 21/4 (Spring, 1991), 575-602; Michael Aung-Thwin, "The 'Classical' in Southeast Asia: The Present in the Past", *Journal*

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7. For a recent study see James Schreeve, "Erectus Rising", *Discover*, 15/9 (Sept., 1994), 80-

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18. On this point see my "Gunboat Diplomacy, Counterrevolution and Manifest Destiny: A Century of Asian Preludes to the American War in Vietnam", *Asian Profiles*, 23/1 (Feb., 1995), 35-57.

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KOREA IN WORLD HISTORY

Marilynn Hitchens and Heidi Roupp

Korea, which traces its history as a nation to the year 2,333 B.C.E. was all but unknown to Americans and, indeed, to much of the Western world until June 25, 1950, when the North Koreans swept across the thirty-eighth parallel. Before that, Occidentals in the 19th century regularly referred to Korea as the "Hermit Kingdom", when it was referred to at all. U.S. policy makers as late as World War II viewed Korea as a "Northeast Asian backwater" whose development had been severely retarded over the centuries by invaders from China, Mongolia and Japan, and GI's referred to it as the "Land that God Forgot."[1] During the 1950's, as a focal point of the Cold War, and in subsequent decades when Korea became one of the economic miracles of East Asia, Korea has been transformed into a country of some interest to politicians and businessmen. But, as a relatively small country existing on the fringes of larger civilizations, Korean history has remained largely unknown and beyond the scope of study in most history classes.

Yet, Korea, has an important story to tell, both in its national and international dimensions. In this respect, Korea has been, not just a corridor of exchange between China, Siberia and Japan, but a shaper of that exchange, and in the process, the creator of a unique history of its own. This unique history includes a long-lived clan system, a phonetic alphabet unique to Asia, and a layered religious tradition that influenced and became imbedded into Korea culture and politics in a way that cosmopolitanized a sometimes isolated Korea.

Geography and Korean History

The geographical position of Korea shaped human events on the peninsula and should be studied from different perspectives. First, Korea may be seen as a land bridge connecting Asia and Japan. Korea was linked to the Silk Road transcontinental trade system and to overland trade crossing the Euraian steppes further north. Second, the Korean peninsula can be considered the eastern most outpost in the long border which separates China from Manchuria and Siberia.

When Korea was militarily weak and Chinese hegemony expanded, Chinese influence extended into Korea. When Chinese influence receded, Asian nomads like the Mongols and Manchus from the north or the Japanese from the south, expanded into Korea. Dynastic changes in Korea were closely linked to events in Asia. In the 20th century, Japan, China, Russia and the United States have played major roles in the peninsula. Third, from a martime perspective, Korea acted as a northern outpost in the profitable sea trade of East Asia with its oceanic links to the Chinese coast, Japan and the Indian Ocean until 1600. After that, transPacific shipping developed through ports far to the south, isolating Korea in the commercial backwaters of global trade. Following the Korea War, Korea has once again become an active, this time in the global world trade network. Fourth, as a peninsula, isolated on three sides by water, Korea has established and maintained an identity separate from that of China or Japan. Finally, since Korea itself is mountainous, a certain "Balkanization" evident through its history from the age of the Three Kingdoms to the presently divided Korea of today. It is one of the anomalies, however, that the bonds of cultural unity have remained strong amidst often fragmented political jurisdictions.

Periodization in Korean History

Periods of Korean history are closely aligned to political rule. Sometimes the rule was completely indigenous as during the period of the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla, and the Koryo and Chosen (Yi) dynasties, and sometimes partially or wholly external as during the period of the Han Commanderies, and the Mongol and Japanese occupations. In all cases, the political situation in Korea is closely connected with events outside of Korea, especially events in China and Japan. This remained true in the twentieth century when Japanese interest and then occupation attracted global interest and rediscovery of Korea by Russia and the United States.

Korean history is usually divided into seven major periods; Prehistory, Han Garrisons, Three Kingdoms, Unified Silla, Koryo, Choson (Yi) Dynasty and 20th century.

Prehistory

During the prehistoric period, migrating peoples from northern and central Asia lived in and used the Korean Peninsula as a land bridge between Asia and the Japanese archipelago.

Scholars theorize that the earliest Koreans migrated into Korea from Manchuria and across the Yellow Sea from the Shantung Peninsula. Evidence indicates that these migrations might have happened in the Paleolithic period, as the predominant view is that the Korean people of today are not the ethnic descendants of Paleolithic inhabitants who lived in the Korea peninsula 400,000 to 500,000 years ago.[2] Instead, they are the product of three successive waves of migration down the peninsula during the Neolithic Period (ca. 5,000 B.C.E.-1,000 B.C.E.) that intermingled with and displaced the earlier population. Tungusic peoples, related to the Turks (and Mongols), they brought with them basic elements of their language from Manchuria which was distinctly different from the Chinese language.[3]

During the late Neolithic, settled Korean agricultural communities gradually developed wet rice agriculture. Shortly thereafter, during the Bronze Age (900-400 B.C.E.), metallurgy appeared in Korea. Bronze daggers and coarse-lined bronze mirrors have been found in stone cist tombs, sometimes with large upright stones. During this period, people lived in shallow pits in grouped settlements. This soon gave way to walled-town states ruled by chieftains. Such states were the earliest political state structures to exist in Korea. By the early fourth century B.C.E., these small walled-town states formed a large confederation at the head of which was a king. This coincided with the Iron Age in this part of Asia. In fact, two iron cultures converged on Korea at once; one was the iron culture of Chou China and the other was a culture of Scytho-Siberian origin. They intermingled in Manchuria and spread in all directions, even into Japan. The use of iron in farming implements like iron hoes, plowshares and sickles increased food production, and further strengthened the ruling classes that controlled surplus production. By the end of the fourth century B.C.E., the strength of the confederation diminished as the power of Han China increased.

Two products of the early period have remained strong throughout subsequent Korean history. One is shamanism and the other is the clan. Shamanism has its roots in the life style of early hunter-gatherer peoples, and it revolves around natural and animistic beliefs and practices. In such belief systems, every object in the natural world, from mountains to rivers, animals and the sun, is venerated and often accorded divine status. Some spirits, like the sun in agricultural societies and animals in pastoral societies, were believed to be good fortune, while others others, like darkness, spelled misfortune. Accordingly, intermediaries or shamanist priests were given the task of driving off evil spirits and invoking the gods to bring a happy outcome. The invocations led by priests often involved boisterous celebrations of song and dance, elaborate burial ceremonies, and mystical incantations. Korean shamans, like the nomadic shamans before them, performed ancient rituals. In North Korea, shamans are usually male; in South Korea they are almost always female who act as priests, healers and prophets. Shamanist influence is reflected in Korean culture especially in small villages burial practices, healing rituals and the arts. Korean artists, unlike Chinese and Japanese, use strong colors, and Korean dancing is more active.[4] Korean women wear the high-waisted, flowing *hanbok* dress reminiscent of nomadic robes rather than the stylized Chinese and Japanese kimono style.

The other product of this early period that remained and remains an important fixture of Korean society to this day is the clan. Clans, which are large familial units tied together by blood and territory, are common to most early societies. In Korea, tracing these ties became an important part in political and social legitimization through the "bone-rank" system. The "bone-rank" system seems to have solidified during the Three Kingdoms period with the Silla who delineated a structure of aristocratic society in which privileges, ranging from economic advantage to political preferment, were accorded based on a person's "bone-rank" or hereditary blood lines. In subsequent history, when political leadership changed hands, many individuals from different lineages than those in power, entered the bureaucracy on the basis of "bone-rank", a position traceable to early clan ties. This identification with clan, wedded to the Confucian emphasis on the family, have made blood ties and familial relationships an important part of Korean political and social history.

Han Garrisons (Commanderies)

About the same time that Greek and Roman societies were developing in the Mediterranean, the Chinese were consolidating political and military power in East Asia. The Chinese began construction of the Great Wall in the third century B.C.E. to protect their northern boundary from nomadic invasion. But China's northeastern boundary remained vulnerable so Han emperors despatched Chinese soldiers and their families to the confederated states of the

Korean peninsula to build military garrisons which the Chinese regarded as defensive outposts. It was during this period when Chinese officials, merchants and colonial overlords moved into Korea, that Koreans were introduced to Chinese writing and culture. China's colonial policy appears not to have been repressive, but where an early kingdom had eight laws of rule, during Chinese control these multiplied into sixty provisions. And not unsurprisingly, a Chinese-oriented elite society emerged among the native population, accepting grants of office and rank, official seals, and ceremonial attire. In this way, Koreans absorbed Chinese culture but maintained political independence. As Han power receded, Korean leaders began to assert control over more extensive territories largely using skills learned from the Chinese. Now Three Kingdoms ruled the Korean peninsula.

Three Kingdoms

The Koguryo (37.B.C.E.-668 C.E.), Silla (57 B.C.E.-668 C.E.) and Paekche (18 B.C.E.-661 C.E.) kingdoms each claimed a segment of the peninsula and each reflected its own Asian cultural influences. The northern-most kingdom, Koguryo, extended into Manchuria and was ably defended from nomadic attacks by its horse warriors who adopted the tactics and weaponry of nomadic warfare. The Koguryo Kingdom acted as a military buffer against China for the Paekche and Silla kingdoms located further south. As the Paekche (situated in the southwest part of the peninsula) and Silla (situated in the southeast part of the peninsula) kingdoms gathered strength, they fought to establish dominance over the southern end of the peninsula. Kaya, a small unorganized territory between the two, relied on its close ties with Japan as its defense against the Paekche and Silla.

Recent Kaya archaeology indicates that the interest of Japan, Paekche and Silla in this small southern state, was in its deposits of iron. In this respect, Kaya influenced Japanese culture rather than the other way around. Kaya had a more centralized government than Japan which did not emerge until the Yamato in the 7th century. While Japanese histories refer to the Kaya of this period as a colony of Japan, Korean history refers to Kaya as a confederation of kingdoms. There is some evidence that the Paekche scholars escaped to Japan to write Korean history, thus, introducing the idea of history to Japan after the Kaya were conquered, as well as carrying on their struggle with the Silla through use of the interpretive use of the historical pen.[5]

Throughout the period of the Three Kingdoms, the three states pursued both their own expansionist policies against each other as well as carrying out assaults against the Chinese Sui and T'ang dynasties. Alongside the conflicts with China, went adoption of Chinese legal and other institutions, and of the Buddhist and Confucianist ideologies. Internal changes occurred as well. Korean aristocratic lineages consolidated and became so well organized that the king, as commander-in-chief, led his nations military forces, often directly into battle, created councils to help in matters of rule, and gained control over the provincial administrative structure. To facilitate rule, the Chinese writing system was further adapted to the Korean language using a corpus of characters for sounds creating a syllabary of sorts. Each kingdom then proceeded to write its own national history, and Confucian ethic was inculcated into aristocratic social order as a means of stratification and order. Especially emphasized was loyalty. In 372, a monk brought Buddhist images to the Koguryo from China, and twelve years later to the Paekche. Only the Silla remained isolated from Buddhist influence retaining their ancient tie to Asiatic nomadic beliefs. Some archaeologists who have investigated the royal Silla burial mounds theorize that Silla queens may have been recognized in court as powerful shamans as well as political leaders.[6]

In Koguryo and Paekche, Buddhism was well received by the aristocratic classes and adopted as state religion directly under state control, largely as a vehicle of state unification and cohesion. One example of the interrelationship of Buddhism with the state is the wide-spread belief that a nine-story pagoda in Kyongju symbolized Silla's destiny to conquer nine other East Asian nations.[7] Thus, the position of Buddhism in Korea was originally somewhat different than it was in China, where the essentially Confucian civil service bureaucracy monopolized the state structure. In Korea, the state during this period, not only used, but built and controlled the Buddhist institutional structure and its wealth, intertwining it with Confucian bureaucratic structures. It was during this time, also, when escaping Korean refugees from Kaya and Paekche, that had been defeated by the Silla, introduced Buddhism to Japan. In this way, Korea became the major conduit of Buddhist teachings, texts, artisanship, and architecture.

The growing strength of the aristocratic class and continous battles resulted in large grants of land and numerous prisoners given to the commanders and aristocracy. In consequence, private land holdings and slave holdings greatly increased during this period. As most of the buildings were of wood, architectural remains of this period are scant. Best preserved are the murals of the old tombs of Koguryo. Painted on four walls of the burial chambers, the paintings reflect the continued tendency of Korean art to the color, exhuberance and animation of its Shamanist past. Royal graves in Japan were evidently patterned after those found in Korea.

In the latter half of the sixth century C.E., events in the Asian steppes changed the balance of power among the Three Kingdoms, ultimately leading to a unified state under Silla. As Turkish steppe peoples appeared on the frontiers of China, the Turks, Koguryo, Paekche and Japan formed an alliance against the Chinese Sui. Meanwhile, the Chinese Sui and Silla formed an east-west counter-alliance against it. In the battles that followed, the Koguryo initially made spectacular victories against both the Sui and later T'ang dynasties, victories that in Korean eyes kept all of Korea from being overrun by the Chinese, and, perhaps, Sinified forever. However, as the northern most bulwark of defense that withstood most of the attacks, Koguryo was weakened over the long run. By 667, Silla had absorbed Kaya and successfully defeated Paekche. At this point, the T'ang mounted a coordinated offensive against Koguryo and in 668, Koguryo came to an end. Then, the wily Silla turned on its former Chinese ally and forced the T'ang from Korea. By 668, the Silla had lost the old Koguryo territory in Manchuria to the Chinese, but the Silla kingdom was in control of the whole Korean peninsula south of the 39th parallel, allowing Korea once again, as it had 700 years earlier when the Han Chinese commanderies were repulsed, to pursue an independent course.

Unified Silla (668-935 C.E.)

During the Unified Silla period (668-935 C.E.), Korea was linked with a rapidly expanding network of land and sea trade. Many tributaries of the Silk Road allowed merchants from India, Central and Southwest Asia to transport their wares to China and on to Korea. Soon Silla merchants were involved in this trade. Especially important to the Korean export trade was gold that was mined in Korea and then made into exquisite gold products for export.[8] In fact, the name for solid gold basins in China was "Silla". Other Korean export products were the silk-smooth paper coveted by the Chinese[9] and bronze bells admired by the Japanese. For these, Koreans imported luxury goods. The triangular trade between China, Japan and Korea offered new opportunities for profit with sea routes controlled for a time by Koreans. In addition, prosperous Korean trading communities were built along the Chinese coast. From these ports, traders headed across the open sea to Wando Island where sailors purchased food and stored a fresh supply of water. From there they headed to Korean ports and further south to Japan. Kyongju, a small city on Korea's southeast coast, became the Silla capital and center of culture. Today in Kyongju can be seen 23 mound tombs of Silla nobles in which have been found exquisite ornaments like gold crowns and horse harnesses, bespeaking a Central Asian influence. Kyongju was modeled on Changan, the capital of the T'ang in China. Laid out in grid pattern, streets had arcades so that citizens could walk in the rain without getting wet. Muslim and Chinese merchants and Japanese monks traversed the streets of this cosmopolitan city.

Growing authoritanianism accompanied Silla unifications. Under King Sinmum (681-692 C.E.), a purge of aristocratic families was carried out in an attempt to establish and rule tightly within a family rather than on founding or bone-rank clans. Along with this change, came a highly stratified social system. The upper class, composed of land owners and military, comprised about 9% of the population. Below them were the commercial "middle people" or chungin, the commoners (mainly farmers) and finally the "low born people", mainly slaves that comprised about 35% of the population.[10] Slave ranks grew during the Unified Silla due to large numbers of prisoners-of-war and war induced impoverishment of the common people who were reduced to slavery if they could not pay their debts. It was also due to the fact that, while the aristocracy lost political power, they did not lose their wealth. Some officials commanded as many as 3,000 slaves in their houses. Because children received equal inheritance under Silla, there were many strong Silla queens. The first, Queen Sondok, 27th ruler of Silla, was successful in war, and noted as compassionate and wise.

Culture, especially Buddhist culture, flourished during the Silla period for a number of reasons, among them peace, wealth from trade, flourishing Buddhism and Confucianism, and the close ties that developed with T'ang China. While evangelical efforts brought about conversions in large numbers to Buddhism, perhaps as much as eighty percent of the population[11], Confucianism developed right alongside it. In 682 the National Confucian College was established and by 788 a state examination system was instituted for government officials. Ancestor worship and a reverence for harmony with nature developed within this framework. Tradition even today decrees that a grave be located on a hill, a sweep of valley in front, sheltering trees in back. Unlike the highly stylized architecture of the Chinese, Korean architecture dictates that a house must fit into its surroundings and flow with the human activity it embraces. Astronomy and calendrical sciences developed. It is possible to see today the Chomsongdae observatory built by Queen Sondok in 634 C.E. Perhaps the most important technology, was the development of wood block printing to reproduce Confucian and Buddhist texts. Among artistic achievements is the cave temple built at Sokkuran in the mid-8th century. Cave temples originated in India and spread to China where they were built into the mountains. In Korea, however, the stones were brought in rather than cut into the rock. The Sokkuran Temple contains the seated, beautifully sculpted Buddha image in a rotunda. Also important in this period are the pagodas. Korean pagodas embraced both the Indian stupa and the Chinese pavilion style, but were made of stone rather than wood. In Kyongju, it was said, there were as many pagodas as geese in the fall skies and as many Buddhist temples as stars in the sky. Buddhist shrines to this day dot the countryside in Southeast Korea. Silla was the high period of Buddhist influence. After, Confucianism began to dominate socio-political life and to a lesser extent the arts.

Within a year of Silla unification, members of the old aristocracy resistant to the trend toward authoritarian rule, joined armies. Soon, however, they found themselves caught up in internecine warfare in which ambitious and wealthy nobles created personal armies to control the countryside and the important coastal points to the maritime trade. They too began taxing the peasants and by 889 C.E. peasant revolts flared. Finally in 918 C.E., a king (T'aejo) of the northern region, successor to the Koguryo and with close ties to the maritime garrisons, asserted control, and his state, a shortened form of Koguryo, was named Koryo, from which the name Korea comes. To create consent and cooperation among the local gentry, T'aejo distributed land and privileges to them and established ties with twenty local families. To further diminish the power and wealth of the old "bone-rank aristocracy" in favor of these gentry, King Kwangjong (949-975 C.E.) promulgated the Slave Review Act restoring free status to many commoners enslaved during the later Three Kingdoms, thereby giving a ready workforce to the new gentry aristocracy he had created subservient to him.

Koryo Dynasty (918-1391)

The early Koryo period is distinguished by gentry rule in which Confucianism emerged as the ideology of political reform, giving rise to a period of neo-Confucianism. Numbers of students went to study Confucianism first-hand in T'ang China. Alongside this, a new form of Buddhism, "geomancy", incorporating elements of Taoistic yin-yang and the Five Elements theories, became popular. On the basis of this theory, claim to each lord's homeground was legitimized. By the reign of Songjong (981-997 C.E.), however, the aristocrats of Silla's head-rank six lineages had re-emerged. Using marriage to expand their power, this aristocracy gradually consolidated and centered in the capital of Kaeson. King Songjong furthered this centralizing process by creating 12 provinces and dispatching officials to administer local government. In addition, he established the National University from which scholars spread into the countryside to teach the classics, medicine and other subjects. Government officials were appointed from the Confucian examination system but also from "protected appointments" that preserved a place for the privileged aristocracy.

The economy of Koryo continued to be dominated by agriculture. At first, all land was theoretically designated as state land, and handed out to officials and soldiers in a system of stipend land that was returned to the state upon death. Besides stipend lands, merit lands were given to officials in perpetuity. Gradually even stipend lands became merit lands causing private landholding and wealth of the aristocracy to once again grow to the detriment of the peasantry who often had rent obligations up to one-half of the yield. In this way, hereditary slaves, which were bought and sold, were joined in their lives of poverty by poor peasantry and outcasts who were despised because of their work as butchers, wicker workers and entertainers.

The culture of the Koryo period was high and elegant due, in part, to extensive participation in the international trade network of the times. A major Korean product of this exchange was the highly prized celadon procelain. Porcelain had been introduced into Korea from China during earlier periods of exchange, but Koreans elevated the art by producing porcelains of delicate color, especially in the case of the jade-green pieces that earned the name "the first under heaven", shape and design. East Asian merchants established commercial ties with Indian and Arab merchants to link Korea, China and Japan with a "maritime silk road" that stretched as far as the Indian Ocean and African coast. Also of cultural significance during this period, are the advancements in printing. During the 13th century, the entire Buddhist canon was reproduced on 80,000 woodblocks known as the Buddhist Tripitaka. Of even greater significance for world history was the development in Korea of interchangeable metal type, preceding Gutenburg in Europe by 200 years. Movable type began in China in the eleventh century, but the fonts were made of either wood or porcelain.

The Koryo Dynasty was ultimately brought down by a combination of internal weakness and external attack, finally ending in its loss of independence to the Mongols in 1231. The gentry turned hereditary aristocracy had created a number of institutional arrangements including a protected appointment system, to monopolize government posts and expand private land holdings. The inevitable result was that conflict broke out among the aristocratic elite, followed by revolts by both the peasantry and military. This weakened Korea at the very time the Mongols conquered northern China in 1215 and increased military pressure along the northern Koryo frontier. Koryo rulers for a period were able to counter Mongol attacks with skillful diplomacy, stiff resistance, and transformation into a quasi-military state. The leadership, at this point, surrounded themselves, not only with a military retinue, but with a civilian staff as well. In this way, they were "yanban" or "officials of the two orders". But, the Mongols finally succeeded in invading Korea using the same invasion route the North Koreans would use in the 20th century. As the Mongol invasion progressed, exploitation of the peasantry by both the Mongols and the Koryo, dampened peasant desire to resist the Mongols. In a vain attempt to coalesce the state, the government undertook another woodblock carving of the Buddhist Tripitaka. Known as the Koryo Tripitaka, it survives to this day at Haein-sa temple near Taegu and is admired for its exquisite artistry. Continued losses caused the court to retreat to Kanghwa Island where resistance to the Mongols continued until 1258 when the last Koryo ruler was assassinated.

Kublai Khan, who now ruled both China and Korea, used the Korean peninsula as a land bridge to attack Japan. Since the Mongols were a land-based power, Kublai Khan demanded that the Koreans and the Chinese build an invasion fleet, pay huge yearly tributes, and provide soldiers, sailors and laborers for his attack. Twice the Mongols launched amphibious assaults on Japan and failed, in part due to what the Japanese refer to as the "kamikaze" or divine wind. Remnants of this invasion fleet have been recently recovered in archaeological excavations.[12]

During the occupation, the Mongols controlled former Korean rulers who were required to marry Mongol princes. The crown prince was taken to the Mongol court to be educated. When the Mongols finally left Korea, the Koryo court was unable to establish strong, central control. In the chaotic period that followed, Korean regional leaders created private armies and established pockets of power, while "Japanese" pirate ships manned by Korean, Chinese and Japanese sailors raided the Korean coast. Internally, these powerful families, backed by the tacit might of the Chinese Yuan dynasty, effected uncontrolled abuses on the local population. However, a new bureaucratic yanban class, the "literati", slowly began to gain political power via the examination system and cooperated with King Kongmin (1351-1374) when he attempted to carry out reforms. First Kongmin adopted a pro-Chinese stand in 1368 when the Ming dynasty was founded, linking up with them against the Mongols. Second, he undermined the power of the pro-Mongol families by carrying out a series of reforms including returning land and slaves seized by the powerful families to their original owners and, in many cases, setting slaves free. He was killed, however, and it was not until 1392 that a new leader emerged strong enough to wrest power from both internal and external control.

Choson (Yi) Dynasty (1392-1910)

The new Korean dynasty, the Choson (Yi) dynasty, was established by Yi Song-gye about the same time as a new Chinese dynasty, the Ming, replaced the old Yuan or Mongol dynasty. Yi Song-gye, a commander and war hero, staged a successful coup and established the new dynasty in 1392. The third king, T'aejong (r. 1400-1418, put the dynasty on a solid foundation and laid the groundwork for the future success of his son, Sejong, one of the most important figures in Korean history. T'aejong issued paper money. His craftsmen reprinted Chinese texts to meet the demand for books in Korean and Japan. He reestablished the grain shipments along the coast and built 250 new vessels for this purpose. To establish control, he eliminated many ministers and members of the royal family. As a result, when he abdicated in favor of his son, T'aejong avoided power struggles between court interests.

Under Choson rule, the government was structured according to Confucian ideals which gave power to the male ruler. However, in practice, the ruler's power was somewhat limited. The State Council debated policy and advised the king. Ministers, who were to be selected on the basis of the civil service exam, implemented policies. Legally, both the privileged elite and commoners were entitled to an education that enabled them to prepare for the civil service examination and government service, but in reality, not everyone was able to do so. Social outcasts were excluded from schools and even restricted in their movements. Under Choson rule, the ranks of slaves decreased and of peasantry increased, but at the same time, this peasantry often was unable to move, reducing them to a status close to slavery. The Choson favored neo-Confucian ideology and age-old customs such as equal inheritance for sons and daughters. The elite patronage of Buddhism ended. Korea became an essentially Confucian, aristocratic (yanban) bureaucratic state.

At the very time Europe was engaged in its Renaissance, Korean culture experienced its own rebirth under King Sejong, who ruled for 32 years. His reign is noted for its scientific and cultural achievements as well as practical changes to improve the lives of his subjects. He ordered land surveys. New reservoirs and catch basins provided drought relief and Chinese water wheels improved irrigation. Cotton, which had been introduced to Korea from Yuan China in 1363, became a popular commercial product during Sejong's rule. Maritime shipping and overland trade from the Silk Road and Eurasian steppes revived. The most important advancement, however, was a phonetic alphabet, Hangul, which was designed for the Korean language and was simple to learn and effective to use. Even today, Hangul helps to account for Korea's high literacy rate as it is not as complex and difficult to learn and use as the idea based characters of Chinese and Japanese. As in Europe where the vernacular languages were upstaging Latin, in Korea Chinese texts were translated into Hangul. New poetic and literary forms emerged like the emotional poetic form called *sijo* that was often unsigned and written by "fallen yanban", those of low status and female entertainers. The themes portrayed love, hardships of family life and nature. Biographies of lives that exemplified Confucian ideals of behavior and proper relationships were printed in 1434 using interchangeable metallic type and widely distributed among the common people. Because of this, Confucian ideals gained popularity at the expense of Buddhism. This was reflected in the arts as well. Strong emphasis was placed on ancestral rites in which only white celadon porcelain was used, a trend that lasted until the end of the dynasty. Compared with the more aristocratic green celadon wares, the white reflected the simple, unassuming beauty of the aesthetics of the common people of Korea. At the same time, Catholicism, Western science and technology entered Korea from Ming China where it had been brought by European Jesuit missionaries. Included in the technological advances were new methods of calendrical computation resulting in a revised calendar in 1653 and pulley mechanisms.

The early years of Choson rule were marked by a stable government and internal development. However, two hundred years of peace ended with Japanese invasions in the last decade of the 16th century. The Japanese shogun, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, invaded Korea in 1592 with the desire of using Korea as a land bridge to conquer China. In the maritime battle that followed, the Koreans, under Admiral Yi Sun-shin, used the "turtle ship", the first ironclad warship armed with heavy canon used in battle, to successfully destroy the Japanese navy. The Choson dynasty, with the support of the Ming, eventually defeated the Japanese, but at great cost. Neither the Ming nor the Choson gained their former power or prosperity. The Chinese were beset by new invasions from the north. Manchu warriors defeated the Ming army and acceded to power as the Ching dynasty, China's last. The Ching demanded and received Korean allegiance as a tributary state. As a result, Korea became increasingly isolated. Disruptions along the Silk Road limited Asian overland trade to the peninsula. A rapidly expanding transPacific maritime trade developed much further to the south. Korea, the Hermit Kingdom, was left an isolated outpost. Korean social structure became stratified and the market a poor, local one. Eighty to ninety percent of the people were farmers. Christian missionaries met with some success during this period due, in part, to what some historians consider a return to the Shamanist past. Korea settled into a rigid neo-Confucian orthodoxy at the official level, interrupted occasionally by coastal attacks such as the ones conducted by the French or U.S. navies, and by secret attempts by Chinese visitors or Christian missionaries to introduce Western ideas.

By the last half of the 19th century, internal disintegration and external pressures weakened the Choson. One internal weakness was the breakdown in yanban society due to its resistance to change. Another was the breakdown in distinction between legitimate and illegitimate lines of descent. With modernization in the society, many peasants were becoming rich farmers, while slave rosters plummeted. Another dramatic change was the spread of the Catholic faith. At the outset, many of the converts were scholarly yanban, but soon many converts were peasants, wage laborers and women who, above all, were attracted by the promise of equality in Christian doctrine. To counter these trends, the government instituted isolationist and reform measures, but they failed. Aware of growing Russian interest and changing conditions in Korea, the Japanese seized the opportunity to force a commercial treaty and then the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876 which was a typical unequal treaty in which Japan was granted unequal trade privileges. This led to the Japanese exploitation of the Korean economy and increasing foreign activity. The resulting stress on the economy and peasantry caused the biggest rebellion in Korean history, the Tonghak Uprising. Not unlike the Taiping and Box Rebellions in China, the rebels called for an ousting of foreigners, return to moral values, the end of corruption among the powerful families, and protection of people and property. Afterwards, a reform movement got under way emphasizing a national ethos, reform of the education system, and the abolition of slavery (1894), and fiscal and judicial modernization, but it was snuffed out by Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910.

20th Century Korea

The twentieth century marked the third time in Korea's long 2000 year history that the Korean peninsula was occupied. Following the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, the way was clear for the Japanese to invade Korea. Despite the local resistance of Koreans, Korea was recognized by the international community as an official colony of Japan from 1910 to 1945. The peninsula's critical strategic position for Japanese territorial expansion into Asia, led to fundamental changes in the society. Japanese occupation was total. Koreans were even forced to take Japanese names. Resentments were compounded by the fact that the Japanese military police recruited large numbers of Koreans (roughly half were Korean), mostly from the lower classes. This first decade (1910-1919) of Japanese colonial rule is known as the "dark period" because of its repression of Korean political and cultural life, including education which was controlled by the Japanese. Patriots chafed under this oppressive rule, and in 1919, when U.S. President Wilson announced the Fourteen Points, demonstrations for independence turned into an all-out riot known to the Koreans as the Mansei Revolution. With not help from President Wilson or the outside world forthcoming, the revolt was brutally put down. Nationalist sentiment and social revolutionary ideas of both the democratic and socialist sort seeped in from outside grew during the period 1919 to 1931. After that, however, Korea became totally assimilated into the Japanese war effort. Koreans served in the Japanese army and worked in Japanese war industries. It was during this period that Koreans in exile in China became acquainted with Communism, setting the stage for the social and political divisions that emerged after World War II.

Modernization accompanied Japanese occupation. Japan's goals for imperial expansion, required a modern infrastructure. Roads, shipyards, railways, oil refineries, hydroelectric power plants, smelters, and factories became part of the landscape. In this way, a new class of workers was created. At the same time, the yanban lost their privileged position. By 1941, the number of Koreans living in cities increased from 6% to 20%. Seoul discarded thatched-roof houses for modern architecture. When Korean workers were allowed to return home in 1945 from Manchuria, Siberia, China and Japan, they found a very different society than they remembered.

In the post World War II period, events outside of Korea continued to shape its history. The Japanese collapse was sudden and unexpected, at least to those in leadership positions at the front. Representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union hurriedly agreed to a joint occupation of Korea with the 38th parallel as the dividing line. In the communist north, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established under the dictatorial leadership of Kim Il Sung who ruled until his death in 1994. (His son, Kim Jon Il, was formally named to the ruling Communist Party's top ruling post in 1997.) In the south, the Republic of Korea was led by Syngman Rhee. Neither man was democratically elected. In 1949, Communism triumphed in

China giving impetus to the 1950 North Korean invasion of South Korea with the purpose of uniting Korea under the communist banner as had happened in China. Thus began a bloody civil war in which both sides sought the support of foreign powers. The North received support from China, the Soviet Union and other members of the communist bloc. The South, allied with the United States, was reinforced with United Nations troops. In the conflict that followed, 3 million Koreans died (there were 1.2 million Japanese casualties in World War II), the country was ravaged, and an already dislocated populace from prior Japanese occupation, was once again in turmoil, sending hundreds of thousands of Koreans fleeing from North Korea into the South. Fighting ended in 1953 in a stalemate. Since 1953, the North and South have remained at military alert across a "demilitarized" strip of land at the 38th parallel causing the first major division in Korean history since its unification in 648. The state of suspended war remains part of Korean daily life today. Seoul is only 25 miles from the DMZ (Demilitartized Zone). Buildings have thicker north walls, sidwalk planters are revetments for mortars, and despite seeming obliviousness to this political state of affairs in everyday life, the papers are filled with articles about desertions and military preparedness, and an underlying feeling of disquiet remains.

While North Korea implemented a classic communist state economy which is now faltering so seriously that millions are reported on the brink of starvation, South Korea built one of the "economic miracles" of the post World War II period. In 1953, South Korea had two-thirds of the population but access to few natural resources, little industry, and little of the infrastructure put in place by the Japanese. Today the economy is booming. Economists and historians have accounted for this in a number of ways. Historians tend to see the impetus for change begun in the 19th century when the landed aristocracy began transferring some investments to commerce and later industry. Change continued under Japanese occupation when a small urban elite expanded into a society of well trained workers and professionals. This trend continued in the South after World War II under a capitalist system, but in the North under a state managed system that eventually snuffed out a search for markets and profits. Economists stress the importance of a highly educated work force, a willingness to compete in the international market place, the close partnership which developed between government and business, U.S. aid helped to rebuild and sustain otherwise costly to the Korean economy military defenses. The unique and very Korean *chaebol*, a large intertwining corporation in which old families, connections with govenment, partiarchy and a clan mentality play a part in the building some of the world's largest multinational corporations like Samsung, Daewoo and Hyundai.

Centuries of Confucian culture and rule remain evident in the socio-political culture of Korea today. Korea is a state-conscious society in which an authoritarian hierarchy frameworks social and political habits--ruler over subject, parents over children, husband over wife. Status is reflected in age and language. Junior staff in a chaebol salute the boss and the head of the Daewood Corporation is as apt to be looked on as patriarchal figure as well as a capitalist manager. Businessmen are respected, not because they are businessmen, which was historically a low-class occupation, but because they are educated. It is one of the paradoxes of Korean culture, however, that whereas men dominate life outside the home, women dominate within it. Korean mothers run the home, raise the children, manage the money, invest in real estate, stocks and especially in women's saving groups called *kye*. Family and connections remain an integral part of success. In finding a job, qualifications are not nearly as important as which province you come from, and competition between provinces is fierce. Cholla people consider Kyongsang people, where most of Korean leaders like Park, Chun and Roh have come from, as brash. Kyonsang people consider Cholla as cunning and rebellious. Family and family name count. There are over 700,000 Chos in Korea and the oldest male member of each is carefully charged with keeping a geneology. Only friends are equals.

Besides Confucian hierarchy, the threat of communism has made it easier for Korea to accept dictators like General Park Chung Hee who seized power by coup in 1961 and Chun Doo Hwan after him. As in the past, this authoritarianism is often tempered by the intellectuals and students who have provided the conscience for the nation. In 1980 when Chun ordered martial law in the face of alleged North Korean threats, student protests erupted in Kwangju. Though the uprising was brutally supressed, the long term effect was to move Korea along a more democratic path. According to many, communism and the resulting authoritarian patterns, have also played a part in the astounding rise in Christianity. In 1970 there were three million Christians in Korea. By 1988 there were ten million. Some say it is because Buddhism lost favor during the Choson due to the impotence and corruption of the Confucian state. Others say Koreans lost their communities during the chaos of occupation, war and modernization, and that Christianity has brought this back. Others see it as a spiritual answer to fear of attack or embracing a mystical humanism either lacking in the other religions of Korea or reminiscent of the Shamanist past. As in other periods in Korean history, influences from outside have profoundly shaped the history of the modern period. However, in doing so, the Koreans have made those influences uniquely their own and have remained an ethnically and culturally unique peoples despite separations and dislocations, and, perhaps, because of them. Some have said there are three Koreas--North Korea, South Korea and the Korean diaspora which emerged due to the emigration of Koreans during recent periods of chaos and occupation. Yet, they are all Korean.

Conclusion

Korean history is intimately linked with the history of Asia, and to a lesser extent to some of the great cross-cultural exchanges of world history. The Korean proverb that states that "When whales fight, shrimps backs are broken" may apply to Korean political history when contests outside of Korean borders made Korea an object of strategic interest. Culturally, however, Korea has been both an importer and exporter, importing Chinese writing, religion, and wood block printing, but it has been an exporter of Buddhism to Japan, celadon and metal moveable type to the world. Meanwhile, it has maintined its unique style and history--a Turkic rather than Sinitic language, a homogeneous ethnicity, a phonetic alphabet unique in Asia, shamanist vibrance in the arts, a layered and intertwining religious traditions stamped with uniquely Korean qualities, a clanish socio-political organization in which family geneology plays a big part, and a spirit of independence. The Shamanist prehistorical period, the endurance of the clan structure during the formation of the state during the Three Kingdoms, the influence of Buddhism during the Silla, the institutionalization of Confucianism in later periods, and the influence of the West have all left their mark on Korean history and culture.

ENDNOTES

1. John Edward Wilz, "United States Policy vis-a-vis Korea, 1850-1950", Harmon Memorial Lectures, USAFA, CO, 1992, p.1.

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3. Andrew C. Nahm, *A Panorama of 5000 Years: Korean History,* 2nd ed. Elizabeth, New Jersey: Hollym Corporation, 1987.

4. Chai-shin Yu and R. Guisso, Eds. *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea.* Berkeley, CA: Asians Humanities Pres, 1988.

5. Professor Young Ick Lew, Hallym University, Seoul, Lecture on Korea History, December, 1996.

6. Sarah M Nelsom, "Archaeological Discoveries in Korea", *Korean Culture* Vol. 14, No. 4, Winter, 1993. Los Angeles: Korean Culture Center, 1993.

7. Eckert, p. 37.

8. Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics.* Berkeley: U. of CA Press, 1985.

9. "Kyongju, Where Korea Began", *National Geographic.* August, 1988, p. 51.

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11. Eckert, p. 51.

12. See *National Geographic*, "Kublai Khan's Lost Fleet", Nov., 1992.

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THE MIDDLE EAST IN TWENTIETH CENTURY WORLD HISTORY

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Based on a limited sampling of works, the coverage of the Middle East in world history textbooks appears erratic. Accounts of the premodern era are on the whole satisfactory, giving due attention to the diversity and world-historical role of Middle Eastern civilizations, to the region's contributions to humanity's common fund of knowledge and techniques, and more recently to the evolution and spread of Islamic civilization. Coverage of the modern era, particularly the twentieth century, is more problematic. The political history of the region and an outline of its convoluted political evolution bulk largest in the texts which I have examined. The events which receive greatest emphasis are those of particular interest to an American audience (Israel's emergence and struggle for survival; the Iranian Revolution and its implications for the United States; incidents of Middle Eastern "terrorism"). Operating within rigid constraints of space, little if any room is left for the analysis of the underlying economic and social trends which provide context for the contemporary political turmoil of the region.

This essay is an attempt to sketch some of the essential socio-economic processes underpinning the dramatic political history of the contemporary Middle East. First, focusing particularly on the three most populous countries of the region (Egypt; Iran; Turkey), it offers a broad survey of some of the basic economic and social changes which have for many people transformed the structure of daily life in recent decades. Second, it discusses some of the political consequences resulting from the massive but uneven change which has occurred in the region. Its thesis is a simple one: Middle Eastern political instability and turmoil is at least in part rooted in the social and economic changes which, while vastly changing living conditions, have also generated new aspirations, expectations, and frustrations.

ECONOMIC CHANGE

The Middle East is no longer primarily an area of peasant cultivators. Even in Turkey, long one of the most agriculturally dependent countries of the region, less than half (40-45%) of the workforce is employed in agriculture;[1] the percentage is probably similar in Egypt and Iran. Due to governmental policies of taxation and resource-distribution which systematically disadvantage rural areas in contrast to urban ones, agriculture's contribution to GDP is even smaller. In 1992, only 18% of GDP in Egypt, 23% in Iran, and 15% in Turkey was generated by the agricultural sector. The percentage was much lower in smaller states; 2-5% in the Arab Gulf, 6% in Israel, 7% in Jordan.[2] A combination of industry, including oil, and a rapidly growing service sector account for the bulk of national economic output. In structural terms, Middle Eastern countries are now "modern" economies in which agriculture is secondary to the industrial and service sectors.

In terms of per capita income, the countries of the Middle East are not amongst the poorest of the poor. In 1992, the Middle Eastern country with the lowest GNP, Egypt ($640), was #36 on the World Bank's listing of countries moving from the poorest to the richest (figures were not available for the Sudan, which is certainly poorer on a per capita basis, and for Yemen, which may be). Most Middle Eastern countries for which there were estimates of per capita GNP fell in the "middle income" range: Morocco, ($1030), Jordan ($1120), Tunisia ($1720), Algeria ($1840), Turkey ($1980), Iran ($2200), Oman, ($6840), Saudi Arabia ($7510). Only Israel ($13220) and the United Arab Emirates ($22020) were among the World Bank's "high income" states (no figures were available for Kuwait or Qatar, two other possible entrants in the high income category).[3]

Per capita GNP figures of course are not an adequate indicator of the genuine standard of living. Particularly in countries lower in the income scale where the rural economy is at least partially still one of subsistence, where low wages means low prices for personal services (e.g., a quarter for a haircut), and where the government subsidizes basic products such as bread, tea, and cooking oil, the actual standard of living can be appreciably higher than per capita income figures alone imply. The following comparison of per capita income figures with "purchasing power parity" estimates for several Middle Eastern countries in 1992 illustrates the difference:[4]

	PER CAPITA GNP	PURCHASING POWER PARITY
Egypt	$640	$3,670
Jordan	$1,120	$4,220
Turkey	$1,980	$5,170
Iran	$2,200	$5,280
Saudi Arabia	$7,510	$9,630
Israel	$13,220	$14,600

The rate of growth of the countries of the Middle East was on the whole a good one through the 1960s and 1970s. Estimates of the annual rate of economic growth for most Middle Eastern countries in the decade and a half from 1965 to 1980 was 6% or better for most states, 10% or more for the oil-exporting countries who benefitted from the rapid rise in oil prices of the 1970s (the comparable US figure was 2.7% over the 1965-1980 period).[5] For some this rapid growth was largely a function of beginning from a low base. Foreign aid both from the superpowers competing in the Cold War and from oil-rich fellow Arab states was an ancillary factor for several countries of the region. The most important contributor to rapid growth in this period was oil: both the direct receipt of revenues from the sale of petroleum products by the oil states of the region, and the spillover effects of the oil boom in the form of investment, aid, and most crucially employment opportunities for countries which had little or no oil themselves but whose skilled as well as unskilled labor played a crucial role in the "instant modernization" of the oil-rich Gulf states. According to one authoritative source, somewhere between 12 and 21 million Middle Easterners, primarily from the oil-poor and poorer countries of the region such as Egypt, Jordan, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Syria, or Yemen found employment in the booming economies of the oil states between 1975 and 1989.[6] Remittances from these workers to their families at home are impossible to specify with any accuracy, since much was remitted through informal channels or in the form of goods purchased abroad and carried home. Informed observers estimate that remittances from workers abroad may have formed the largest source of foreign income -- above tourism, Suez Canal tolls, oil revenues, or US foreign aid -- for Egypt in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

The record of Middle Eastern economic growth is a significantly different and much darker one since the beginning of the 1980s. World Bank estimates for per capita economic growth over the period from 1980 through 1992 show a significantly lower rate of growth for most countries (Egypt, 4.4%; Morocco, 4%; Jordan, 0.8%; Tunisia, 3.8%; Algeria, 2.6%; Turkey, 4.9%; Iran, 2.3%; Syria, 1.8%; Saudi Arabia, 0.4%; Israel, 3.9%).[7] For several of the oil states who suffered from declining oil prices through the 1980s, as well as non-oil states particularly dependent on remittances from labor working abroad, the 1980-1992 period was one of declining per capita income (Iran, -1.4%; Saudi Arabia, -3.3%; the United Arab Emirates, -4.3%; Jordan, -5.4%).[8]

The long decline in oil prices over the decade of the 1980s was the primary culprit. It meant less income for the oil states, less foreign aid from them to other Arab and Muslim countries, and diminished employment opportunities for labor. But a political factor must also be added: economic disruption and resource destruction through war. The Lebanese civil war which devastated the economy of the Middle East's leading commercial center from the late 1970s onwards; a decade of destruction in Afghanistan brought about by Soviet occupation and Afghan resistance; the Iraq-Iran war from 1980 to 1988 which turned the areas along the border into a wasteland, consumed enormous financial resources, and killed hundreds of thousands; prolonged Kurdish nationalist uprisings in both Iraq and Turkey; a decades-long civil war in the southern Sudan; the Palestinian intifada of the late 1980s and early 1990s, with its disruption of economic activity on the West Bank and even more so in the Gaza Strip; and more recently Algeria's vicious civil war of the 1990s and more low-grade civil strife in Egypt: the list goes on and on. To the "direct" economic cost of these conflicts in the form of military expenditure and resource destruction must be added the "indirect" costs accrued in the disruption of economic activity, the refugee problems generated by warfare, and the loss of jobs due to political turmoil. The region-wide repercussions of the Gulf crisis and war of 1990-1991, presented via Pentavision to Americans as a short, relatively bloodless, and triumphal episode in America's march to world hegemony, appear in quite different terms when viewed from a Middle Eastern perspective. The sack of Kuwait by a rapacious Iraqi regime; the subsequent devastation of Iraq by Allied bombardment, the effects of the latter reinforced by civil war and a prolonged economic boycott of Iraq; and the loss of jobs and property suffered by possibly millions of people (beyond the citizens of Kuwait and Iraq, hundreds of thousands of Egyptian and Palestinians fleeing or being pushed out of Iraq and Kuwait respectively; a similar number of Yemenis evicted from Saudi Arabia in 1990 because of their government's support for Iraq): like the ripples produced by a stone cast in a pond, the Gulf crisis and war disrupted economic life throughout the Middle East and is a major contributor to the economic plight of many Middle Eastern countries in the 1990s.

SOCIAL CHANGE

The most basic social development in the contemporary Middle East is the rapid rate of population growth being experienced by most Middle Eastern countries. The historical growth of population of the three most populous countries of the region serve to illustrate the general trend:[9]

	1800	1900	1992
Egypt	3.9 m.	10.2 m.	54.7 m.
Iran	@5 m.	9.9 m.	59.6 m.
Turkey	@6.5 m.	12.5 m.	58.5 m.

Overall, the population of the Middle East as a whole has probably increased at least tenfold from the early nineteenth century, when the first partial estimates are available. What needs emphasis is that this increase has occurred in an arid region with restricted agricultural potential and (save for oil) limited other natural resources.

The high rate of population growth of recent decades shows few signs of abating. The annual rate of population increase in most Middle Eastern countries in 1992 remained quite high in comparative terms: 3% or more for several (Iran, Jordan, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen), between 2 and 3% in several others (Algeria, Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia, Turkey), 1.9% for Egypt, 1.5% for Israel (the comparable US figure in 1992 was 0.7%).[10] A 2% annual rate of population growth will double population in approximately 36 years; a 3% annual rate will do the same in approximately 24 years. The population bomb is ticking in the Middle East.

Family planning programs have been introduced in at least Egypt, Turkey, Iran, and Morocco since the 1960s. On the whole, these appear to have had only a limited impact to date. There has been a modest decrease in the rate of population growth in Egypt and Turkey from

1970 to 1992 (from 2.3% to 1.9% in Egypt, from 2.4% to 2.1% in Turkey) and a more sizable one in Morocco (3.1% 2.0%). In Iran, where the Shah's family planning program was discontinued after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the rate of population growth increased slightly over the same period (2.9% to 3.0%). Family planning efforts have been reintroduced in Iran in the more sober atmosphere of the 1990s. Despite family planning efforts, the current rate of population growth for the region as a whole still remains high.

The reasons for the Middle East's high rate of population growth are complex and can only be summarized here. It may have less to do with religion than is sometimes assumed. The Islamic tradition contains passages both legitimizing and discouraging efforts at birth control; which interpretation is adopted by contemporary religious spokesmen is perhaps less a function of their tradition than of their personal preferences and the political pressures within which they operate. Economic factors -- the benefits of children as laborers and as social security for one's old age -- as well as cultural (but not strictly religious) considerations in a society in which men demonstrate their virility and women establish their worth through procreation may be of greater significance. Nor should the effects of poverty be ignored. Unni Wikan's in-depth study of lower-class women in Cairo demonstrates the corrosive influence of poverty on family planning efforts. The women studied by Wikan repeatedly expressed a desire for family planning; some went into "fits of hysterics" when their efforts failed and they became pregnant. Their main contraceptive technique was the pill, obtainable from public clinics at 5 piasters a pack or from private pharmacies at 20 piasters. Wikan's summary of the problems of using the pill in a poor society is worth quoting:[11]

> (1) Sometimes the clinic claims to have run out of pills. Rather than pay the higher price, which equals food for the whole family for one day, the women will then take a risk.
>
> (2) Information and understanding are defective: some women take the pill only every other day (so as not to become weak or ill) or only on nights when they sleep with their husbands; or they know that they should take it for three weeks and then rest for one week but they do not know which week, etc.
>
> (3) Mistrust of anything subsidized or provided by the Government: folk wisdom proclaims that the 5p pill has a number of dangerous side effects. . . . People believe that the cheap pill, as opposed to the 20p pill from the chemist, does not contain

vitamins (vitaminat). To compensate for this, the 5p pill must be taken with nutritious food . . . which they simply cannot afford. These views are so deeply rooted that they cannot be shaken: every imaginable illness is blamed on the 5p pill.

(4) Private practitioners seem to oppose the programme according to my informants by advising patients to give up the pill for a month as a cure for various illnesses.

One of the greatest and most significant areas of social change in the contemporary Middle East relates to education. Regardless of political ideology or alignment, governments almost everywhere in the Middle East have placed a high priority on educational expansion. At least statistically, the results are impressive. School enrollment figures by the early 1990s show virtually universal primary school enrollment -- for both boys and girls -- in many Middle Eastern countries; only in the backward and wartorn Sudan were primary school enrollment figures less than 50% in 1991. As might be expected, school enrollment declines at the secondary level. But even secondary school enrollment has increased appreciably in most countries. To focus again on the "big three" as examples, in Egypt in 1991 80% of secondary-school age males and 73% of secondary-school age females were enrolled in school; comparable figures for Iran were 57/49, for Turkey 51/40. Higher education sees a further decline in the percentage of the relevant age group enrolled, but is now substantial in many countries: Egypt 19%, Iran 12%, Israel 34%, Jordan 25%, Saudi Arabia 13%, Syria 19%, Turkey 15% in 1991.[12] School enrollment is of course no guarantee of either attendance or learning. But that a significantly larger proportion of young people are now receiving formal education than even a generation ago is indisputable.

An equally dramatic change in recent decades is urbanization. Particularly in the more populous countries of the region where population growth has for decades exceeded the agricultural base, people have flooded to the cities where schools, industry, and the burgeoning service sector offered the prospect (by no means always realized) of economic and social improvement. In 1991, 47% of Egyptians, 57% of Iranians, and 63% of Turks lived in urban areas; in less populous countries such as Jordan (69%), Saudi Arabia (78%), and Israel (92%) or Kuwait (95%) the bulk of the population lived in urban areas.[13] The "primate" (=500-pound urban gorilla) city is now a prominent social feature of several Middle Eastern countries. About one-quarter to one-fifth of all Egyptians, Iranians, and Turks live in Cairo, Teheran, and Istanbul respectively; for smaller countries like Israel, Iraq, or Lebanon, one-third or more of the population now reside in greater Tel Aviv, Baghdad, or Beirut.

A final area of social change worth noting relates to health care. Whether through programs of "Arab socialism" modeled on the Soviet experience or as a result of welfare-state policies made possible by oil wealth, many Middle Eastern governments have taken significant steps to improve health care in recent decades. The provision of purified drinking water first to urban but now also to more and more rural communities; vaccination and other programs to reduce childhood disease and mortality; the state-subsidized training of medical professionals; and the construction of hospitals in urban and health clinics in rural areas have all contributed to improved health care and longer life expectancy. The change in life expectancy estimates over the quarter-century from 1965 to 1992 range from moderate in the case of countries like Israel and Kuwait, where health care had already been of a high caliber by the 1960s, to absolutely stunning in the case of countries like Oman or Saudi Arabia, where people are now living a full generation longer than their fathers did:[14]

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH	1965	1992
Algeria	50	67
Egypt	49	62
Iran	52	65
Iraq	52	ND
Israel	72	76
Jordan	50	70
Kuwait	63	ND
Libya	50	ND
Morocco	50	63
Oman	41	70
Saudi Arabia	48	69
Sudan	40	52
Syria	53	67
Tunisia	51	68
Turkey	54	67
Yemen	38	53
[United States	71	77]

THE IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT CHANGE

In several basic respects, the human landscape of the Middle East has been transformed over the past few decades. Millions of people have moved from the countryside to the city; are receiving formal education, many at the secondary and even the tertiary level; are working in quite different occupations from those followed by their parents or grandparents; are living longer than was the case with earlier generations; and, thanks to education, the mass media, and/or labor migration, are familiar with a wider world.

Yet these economic and social transformations of the past few decades have operated unevenly. Massive change has generated massive imbalances -- between individuals, between classes, between countries. The economic imbalances are perhaps the most evident. There is an obvious mismatch between the distribution of the region's population and the distribution of the region's leading economic resource, oil. Many of the more populous countries of the Middle East possess little or only moderate oil resources; many of oil-rich states have small populations. Oil has revolutionized the material basis of life in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States; its effects have been more limited (although not insignificant) in countries like Egypt, Syria, or Jordan. This disparity in national wealth has developed at a time when the peoples of the Middle East, especially its Arabic-speaking majority, have come into closer and closer contact through the mass media and labor migration, and when the expansion of formal education and the influence of the media have vastly altered life expectations. The luxurious lifestyle of "Gulfies" and their sometimes-sybaritic behavior when vacationing in the more liberal Arab countries outside the Arabian Peninsula is both glaring and galling to Arabs elsewhere.

Enormous economic disparities exist within as well as between Middle Eastern countries. There are few statistical estimates concerning the distribution of wealth within individual Middle Eastern countries. Certainly the conclusion of knowledgeable observers is that there is a huge gap between the resources and lifestyle of the affluent few and the impoverished many. The gap may also be increasing. The initial effects of programs of economic liberalization and efforts at privatization appears to have been to exacerbate differences of wealth and -- through the cutback of subsidies and the contraction of government welfare benefits -- to have placed greater pressure upon the poorer segments of society. Workers' real wages in Turkey are estimated to have fallen between 20% and 40% over a five-year period in the 1980s as a consequence of economic liberalization;[15] in Egypt, wages equaled about half of GDP in 1970, but were down to about one-third of GDP in the early 1990s.[16] Large differentials of wealth of course existed in the Middle East before the contemporary era; but now, thanks to expanded education, rising expectations, and the prominence of more egalitarian ideologies, such disparities have taken on new meaning for many of those on the lower rungs of the ladder.

Particularly important in generating internal tensions is the imbalance between education and expectation on the one hand, economic opportunity and achievement on the other. Rapid population growth is producing a younger population each year. Many of these younger people now have access to secondary or in many cases higher education. As a result of formal education, they have both new skills and wider aspirations than previous generations. Yet the career opportunities available in their own societies are inadequate either to fully utilizing their skills or to meeting their life-expectations. Labor migration provided a partial substitute for lack of domestic opportunity in the boom years of the 1970s and early 1980s; but declining oil prices since then and political apprehension concerning the use of foreign labor in the wake of the Gulf crisis have eroded that alternative. In the 1990s unemployment has reached critical levels in some overpopulated countries previously dependent on labor migration. Government estimates claimed an unemployment rate of 17% in Egypt in 1993; unofficial estimates put the figure at over 20%.[17] In mid-1996, unemployment in Jordan was estimated at 18%; among Palestinian Arabs may have been as high as 30% on the West Bank, a staggering 70% in the Gaza Strip.[18]

Dovetailing with these economic imbalances are the social disruptions produced by social change. Two features of recent social change have combined to present Middle Eastern countries with an unprecedented social dilemma. The first is the region's rapid and still largely-uncontrolled population growth. The second is the massive rural-to-urban migration which has fed urbanization and placed intolerable strains on urban structures. Together, these two processes have generated the central problem of social absorption -- how to assimilate and integrate new generations and rural migrants (the two overlap) into contemporary urban society. This is a problem both economically and socially. In terms of the former, it means creating jobs and providing adequate services for the region's burgeoning urban population. Socially, it involves forging a commonality of discourse and values among a population which differs considerably in background as well as in economic circumstance. Efforts in both directions have had only marginal success in many Middle Eastern countries.

Finally, the political imbalances of the contemporary Middle East need to be noted. Rapidly expanding educational opportunities (including study abroad at the upper levels for some), the spread of modern means of communication and with them new political ideologies, and unparalleled physical mobility have both generated new aspirations on the individual level and contributed to the growth of altered expectations for society as a whole. Educated Middle Easterners are now aware of many of the concomitants of modernity found in other societies; a measure of economic opportunity and security, freedom of expression, political participation. They are also aware of their own society's inability or unwillingness to provide them with the same. With some notable exceptions (Israel for its Jewish population; Turkey for its Turkish population; more hesitantly, Jordan in recent years), the peoples of the Middle East live under authoritarian regimes. The degree of repressiveness found in those autocracies vary from mild (Egypt; now possibly Iran) to vicious (Iraq; Libya). But, regardless of what limited pluralism of expression may be allowed in some, there is little scope for realizing meaningful political change in most Middle Eastern countries. Saudi Arabia has been ruled by the same family since its emergence in the early twentieth century; King Husayn of Jordan came to the throne in Jordan in 1953, King Hasan of Morocco in 1961; in 1996 Syria, Iraq, and Egypt had the same presidents for twenty-five, seventeen, and fifteen years respectively. Many Middle Eastern states suffer from the political equivalent of arteriosclerosis. It is not a matter of autocracy and repressiveness being new -- sultans were not democrats. It is that the authoritarian and immobile political systems found in many Middle Eastern countries are increasingly out-of-tune with the political aspirations of their populations.

The mood of frustration produced by the above imbalances has best been articulated by the Syrian poet Nizar Qabbani. The specific subject of his "Children Bearing Rocks" is the Palestinian intifada; but its expression of the failed hopes of a generation is clearly of broader applicability:[19]

With stones in their hands,
they defy the world
and come to us like good tidings.
They burst with anger and hope, and they fall
While we remain a herd of polar bears:
a body armored against weather.

Like mussels we sit in cafes,
one hunts for a business venture
one for another billion
and a fourth wife
and breasts polished by civilization.
One stalks London for a lofty mansion

one traffics in arms
one seeks revenge in nightclubs
one plots for a throne, a private army,
and a princedom.

Ah, generation of betrayal,
of surrogate and indecent men,
generation of leftovers,
we'll be swept away--
never mind the slow pace of history--
by children bearing rocks.

It is this mood of personal and political alienation, rooted in the gulf between the aspirations of many of the people of the Middle East and the socio-economic and political realities which surround them, which is in part behind the contemporary turmoil found in many Middle Eastern countries. Clearly, Middle Eastern political instability cannot be reduced to recent socio-economic causes alone. "Primordial" cleavages based on ethnic and religious differentiation may play a role in particular cases; the motivating power of both religious and secular ideologies must be considered; calculations of interest and advantage by states or groups seeking to become states are undoubtedly part of the mix. But just as clearly, contemporary socio-economic disparities and the discontents to which they generate in an era of rising expectations must be taken into account when examining the contemporary Middle East.

In particular, socio-economic factors play an important role in the Islamist surge of recent decades. The theme of social justice is a prevalent and powerful one in Islamist discourse. An appeal to the "disinherited" left behind during Iran's pell-mell modernization was central to the success of the Islamic Revolution in Iran.. The same theme reverberates through the rhetoric of oppositionist Islamist movements in Arab counties. Listen to Rashid al-Ghannushi, leader of the Islamic Tendency Movement in Tunisia: "It is not enough to pray five times a day and fast in order to be worthy of Islam. Islam is activism. . . . It is on the side of the poor and the oppressed."[20]

From a broader perspective, the contemporary instability found in the Middle East should not be construed in a-historical terms. Things have not "always been like that." Middle Eastern countries have experienced periods of tranquillity as well as of turmoil; religious and ethnic groups have lived in harmony as well as in hostility; the intellectual traditions of the region are diverse enough to provide an ideological justification for tolerance as well as for intolerance. Precisely which of these alternatives will prevail at particular points in time is historically contingent, a function of specific historical circumstances. Like political trends elsewhere, Middle Eastern politics need to be approached and analyzed in terms of the larger context which conditions them and within which they unfold.

ENDNOTES

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3. Ibid., 162-163.

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6. Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *The Political Economy of the Middle East* (Boulder, 1990), 379.

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9. Estimates for 1800-1900 from Charles Issawi, *An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa* (New York, 1982), 94; estimates for 1992 from World Development Report, 1994), 162-163.

10. Ibid., 212-213.

11. Unni Wikan, *Life Among the Poor in Cairo* (London, 1981), 157-158 (italics mine).

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13. All estimates save Kuwait from World Bank, *World Development Report, 1993* (New York, 1993), 298-299. The Kuwaiti estimate is for 1987 and is from *World Development Report, 1989*, 224-225.

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15. Richards and Waterbury, *Political Economy*, 250-251.

16. Cassandra (pseud.), "The Impending Crisis in Egypt," (*Middle East Journal*, 49:1 (1995),

17. Ibid., 12.

18. *Christian Science Monitor,* July 30 and August 14, 1996.

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REFLECTIONS ON A LUXURIOUS AGE:
THE MIRROR OF ART IN COLONIAL LATIN AMERICA

Teddy Dewalt

Denver Art Museum

Introduction. What today we call the fine arts — sculpture, painting and architecture — have proved themselves indispensable to the development of western civilization. Yet art is seldom cited as a catalytic factor in discussions of the forces that have shaped our world. Indeed, in many quarters art is regarded as simply decoration, an educational tool, or propaganda. All three of these descriptions, of course, are valid. Art does function as embellishment, and it has always contained a strong persuasive factor. However, there is more to its contribution to world history than either of those two observations allow.

Art resonates on the subliminal level of human consciousness where energies constellate before erupting into manifestation. It therefore can and does play a substantial role in stimulating and directing human achievements. In the case of Latin America, art helped to create and then reinforce the value system of Spain's colonial empire, although its course over the centuries took some independent, unexpected turns. Spain communicated its culture through the church, and the church transmitted it by way of art. This took place in a vast geographical area isolated from Europe through distance and difficulties of navigation, strict control of ports of departure and entry, a formidable array of warships and the Roman Catholic church which in the post-Reformation era was determined to prevent Protestant invasion of a part of the world she considered her own. However, despite the enormous production of art in the Spanish colonies, some of it very fine quality, Spanish Colonial is probably the least known major area of world art outside of its own sphere of influence.

Art and Religion. The 16th and 17th century Spanish came to the New World with a religious imperative that was unique in the history of the world. They had just concluded a religious war that had lasted 700 years — the reconquest of peninsular Spain from the Islamic peoples of north Africa, the Moors. It had been a long, drawn-out struggle that sharpened Spanish military prowess as well as honing its religious zeal. The last victories over the Moors — Isabella and Ferdinand at Granada the same year they sent Columbus to America, 1492 — must have fired the Spanish troops with a sense of destiny. Undoubtedly, they thought of themselves as invincible since from their point of view God had repeatedly demonstrated his favor. Drawn from the ranks of these crack troops, the conquistadors easily appropriated an attitude of God-given right to bring Catholic Christianity to the hundreds of thousands of native peoples in the new lands, a distinct psychological advantage. The harsh conditions they encountered in the New World and the accounts of their remarkable struggles testify to incredible stamina and resourcefulness under sometimes near-impossible conditions.

Today it is considered bad form in many quarters to refer to the Spanish conquest in an affirmative vein because of the destruction wrought to the cultures and native peoples who were there first. Interestingly, this is not a 20th century attitude but one which prevailed in certain Spanish quarters from the beginning of the conquest. It is always important to remember that even in the earliest days abuses were decried and reforms instituted by the Spanish themselves from the depths of their own society. However, the "Black Legend," an attempt by Spain's Protestant enemies in Europe — the Dutch, the French and the English, who coveted the wealth of the Indies — to discredit and denigrate the Spanish character, is with us still in some respects. For centuries the mere word " Spanish" in European circles evoked an immediate hostile response. Hardly anyone in the eighteen century turned an eye to the west, where, largely unknown to Europe, great cities had risen on a little-known continent, embellished with fine architecture and art of world rank.

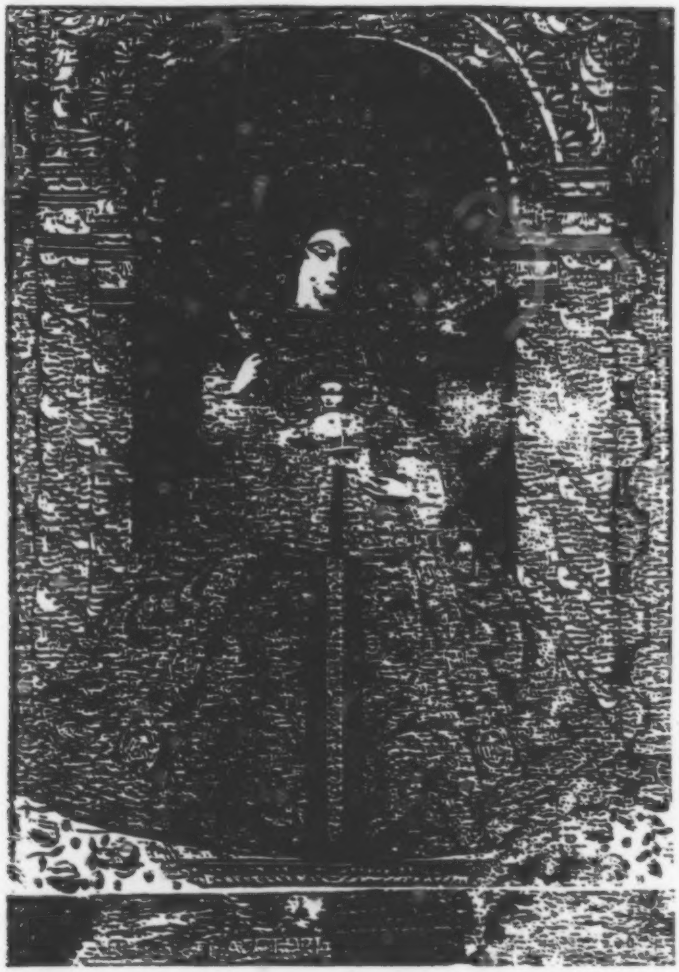
Following closely in the wake of the early 16th-century conquistadors came the Franciscans, then the Dominicans and other orders including Mercedarians, Augustinians and Jesuits. It was the mendicant orders who initiated the conversion of the native populations and set the tone for the first churches and the adaptations of Christian doctrine to native beliefs. During the 300 year period that Spain ruled in the Americas, an estimated 70,000 churches and 20,000 monasteries were built in the New World.[1] All of them required decoration, painting and sculpture that would convey and reinforce the Christian message. One of the friars' first methods for attracting and holding the attention of the people was to appropriate the native power places, the temple locations. Some of Latin America's most impressive Christian churches were built directly on top of such places, i.e, the Cathedral of Mexico City and the Cathedral of Cuzco, to name only two out of hundreds. The friars quickly recognized how accustomed the native people were to spectacle and to the use of art as a vehicle for information. In order to fill the demand for skilled artists, the vast and far-flung empire of the Spanish Hapsburgs was scoured, and a great many European artists (many of whom were clerics) were drafted or commissioned to work in the Americas. Some returned to Europe after specific commissions, but it is thought that most of the master artists remained in the Americas, setting up schools and guilds, and leaving their work where it was created, in Latin America. Thus colonial art remained unknown to Europeans, and Spain preferred not to call any more attention to the glories of the Western Hemisphere than were already abroad.

In Guadalupe, the apparition of the Virgin Mary to an ancient Aztec Indian (which, according to tradition, occurred only a dozen years after Cortes conquered Mexico), the mestizos of Mexico discovered a rallying symbol for Mexican independence which gained force and commitment as the centuries wore on. Guadalupe proved to be an incalculable asset in the conversion process and remains the most frequently-painted religious image in Mexico, a power in the community. She is now officially the Patroness of the Americas for the Roman Catholic church.

In the Andes, where no apparition of the Virgin as a native Andean was recorded, the people found it easy to identify the Virgin Mary of the Christian tradition with *Pachamama,* the earth mother, and numerous paintings, especially the mountain-shaped, triangular-skirted Virgin Mary paintings invite this kind of interpretation.[2] (see illustration #1)

The art of Spanish colonies was primarily religious throughout its existence, another reason for its present-day obscurity, for religious painting is out of favor in many parts of the

Illustration # 1. **The Virgin of the Victory of Málaga.**



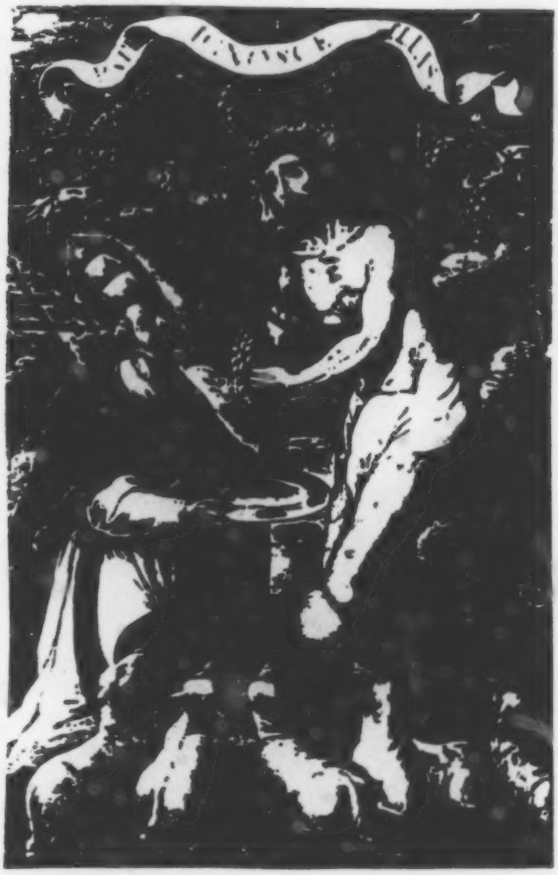
The Virgin of the Victory of Málaga (attributed to Luis Niño, Potosi, Bolivia between 1730 and 1750) illustrates how original subject matter from the mother country was carried to the New World and transformed by local interpretation. The large (60 X 44") oil painting ostensibly commemorates the successful siege of the Moorish-held coastal city of Málaga by Catholic monarchs, Isabel and Ferdinand, four years before the end of the 700-year Moorish occupation of Spain. Miraculous events were said to have been associated with the siege, and the subsequent victory was regarded as a sign of God's favor. The Catholic monks recreated these events in the art of the New World. What the indigenous peoples saw in the painting, however, was the Virgin Mary as *Pachamama*, the Andean Earth Mother, and the triangular skirt representing the mountains. Soon it was recognized that this type of front-facing, mountain-shaped Christian image helped natives to accept the new religion, and other adaptations were made such as the insertions of the native musician to the left of the crown.
(Photo coutesy of the Denver Art Museum, cat. #1969.345, a gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Critcher Freyer)

world in the twentieth century. Religious painting and sculpture were created not only for churches but for homes, both large and small, where private altars and chapels were commonly encountered. However, not all of this art is of high quality. There was so much demand for art in both the domestic and the ecclesiastic spheres that much of it necessarily was made as quickly as possible in workshops where the work was executed by apprentices. However, just as in Europe, certain talents rose to eminence, and distinctive artwork was nonetheless available, especially in the large metropolitan areas. Mexico claims a dynasty of painters that lasted through two centuries, and Andean painting is noted for its highly decorative techniques to with an unusual handling of Christian subjects.

One of the most intriguing aspects of colonial paintings for the student today is the unorthodoxy of many Christian representations. The Council of Trent, a twenty-five-year-long church council held the first half to middle of the 17th century, specified how certain religious subjects were to be handled. However, Rome was very far away, and local clerics often adapted ways and means that would explain complex Christian theology more easily to persons lacking the long, traditional background of the Middle Ages. One example presently on loan by Jan and Frederick Mayer to the Denver Art Museum's collection is the *Allegory of the Sacrament,* a large oil painting that presents Christ as the vine from the Biblical quotation, "I am the vine and ye are the branches" (see illustration #2). Technically, the painting is heretical because it depicts Christ as an idea rather than as a person. For the colonial fathers it probably worked very well. Spanish colonial art is full of such anomalies, and they constitute for the student and collector one of its charms.

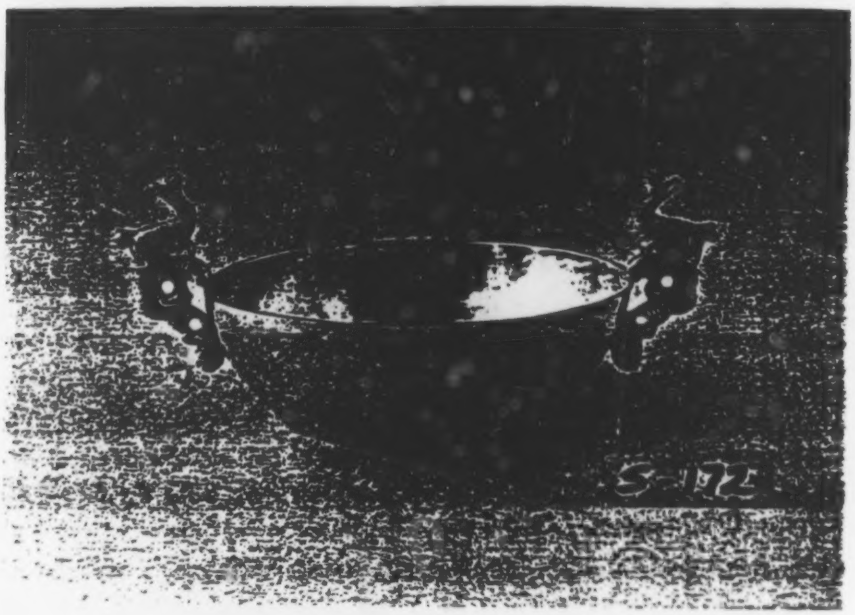
Art and Economics. While the early conquistadors were dazzled with the possibilities of finding huge quantities of gold in the New World, the metal that made Spain the wealthiest country in Europe in the early centuries was silver (see illustration #3). Two principle areas were targeted for silver-mining, although silver also was mined in other parts of the Americas. One was focused in the northern part of Mexico and the other in Bolivia. The story of Mexican silver mining has been fairly well documented, but the saga of mining and life in the city created by

Illustration # 2. **Allegory of the Sacrament**



Allegory of the Sacrament, signed by Juan Correa of the Mexican Baroque period, mid-17th century (65 X 42 1/2"), manifests an intriguing departure from accepted iconography emanating from the need to convey a message in the most direct fashion possible. The imagery here clearly evokes the New Testament quotation, "I am the vine and ye are the branches." The artist has painted the vine, which represents Christ, as growing directly out of Christ's chest and bearing abundant fruit. One cluster is being squeezed by him into a large paten or liturgical vessel used in the service of Holy Communion. It conveys that idea that this man's blood has been willinlgy shed for many. Around him, seven lambs, possibly symbolize the seven sacraments. The painting may have been one of a series on the seven sacraments all calculated to make visually clear the idea of an "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." The painting, however, constitutes theological heresy since it makes Christ into an allegorical idea rather than a person fully human and fully divine. For this reason, the church in Rome would probably not have sanctioned it. But, Rome was far away from the Mexican workshop, and the Spanish colonial priests were teaching thousands of persons whose visual perceptions had not be conditioned by the images derived from Greco/Roman styles and concepts. In the new lands, the most direct imagery possible often proved the most helpful in conveying the Christian message.
(Photo courtesy of the Denver Art Museum, cat.#418.1989, loan from the Jan and Frederick Mayer Collection. It may be seen on the fourth floor of the Museum.)

Illustration #3. **Double-handled Cup or Drinking Bowl with Llama Handles**



Double-handled Cup or Drinking Bowl with Llama Handles, Bolivia, maker unknown. The metal that made the Spanish wealthy beyond all expectations was silver. The richest source of silver was the triangular-shaped mountain in Bolivia called "Potosí" named after the city that was established on it flanks. Colonial silver not only flowed into Europe where it financed years of religious wars and became the standard of currency for the world until the 20th century, but it also remained in large quantities in the Americas where the Spanish colonials luxuriated in its beauty and malleability and used it to decorate their personal, religious, and public lives in every way imaginable. Domestic silver was employed where we today would use glass, porcelain, wood, pottery, or plastics. Pictured here is a small bowl whose handles bear the images of the local camelid, the llama. Many pieces of domestic and ecclesiastical silver from the Spanish Americas carry decorative references to the local flora and fauna. (Photo courtesy the Denver Art Museum, cat.#S-172, gift of the Stapleton Foundation of Colonial American Art, made possible by the Renchard family).

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silver, Potosí, Bolivia, has never received a rightful recognition in English language histories. Potosí offers vivid and lively instructive cultural material for teachers.[3]

Spanish Colonial silver plate, domestic and ecclesiastic, constitutes an art form that became the symbol of wealth and abundance of the Americas for the colonial administrators, mine owners and vast landholders in colonial times. Everything from chamber pots to tooth- and ear- picks could be and was often made of the metal. One of the few early travelers in the colonies commented on it.[4]

Minted in the Americas, the silver coinage of Mexico City, Guatemala, La Paz, Potosí and Lima circulated the globe until the early 20th century, purchasing the luxuries of Europe, China, India and Japan. Spices, pearls and gems, silk, tea, fine furniture, porcelain, art objects, commissioned manufactured goods and craftsmen from the Orient were brought to the colonies on the Manila Galleons, exchanged for silver coin. Silver financed a globe-spanning system of trade, exchange and communication which lasted two hundred or more years, not duplicated until the electronic age of the present-day. With the luxuries of the Orient available and the abundant resources of the new lands themselves, the South and Central American colonials enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle embellished with all the amenities available to the courts of Europe as well as some that were not. The Manila Galleons are delightfully depicted in painting, in Japanese screens of the Kano school and were even modeled in silver and carved in wood.

Art and Society. The social order set up by the Spanish administrators for a three-hundred-year period from the first quarter of the 16th century through the first quarter of the 19th century is clearly accessible through the art of the period. Not only architecture but painting, sculpture and the decorative arts together constitute a book for reading a culture that quickly changed from an imitation of European forms into a hybrid creation of substance and individual distinction. Portraits, furniture, silver plate, sculpture, great architecture, religious painting, and imported goods tell the tale. Much of this can be seen in the Denver Art Museum's New World Galleries where three large rooms of art including the decorative arts and silver together with magnificent painting and sculpture have been tastefully displayed to make the opulent lifestyle of the colonials appreciable for all. This is the only museum in the United States that devotes so much permanent space to the art of the Spanish Colonial period.

87

Those who were born in Spain held the most prominent positions in the society in the early centuries, and indeed, Spain's 17th century population became seriously depleted because so many of her native sons emigrated to the Americas. The new lands required many colonial administrators on various levels of responsibility as well as persons in other capacities. A number of portraits of viceroys and wealthy landowners or administrators survive from the 18th and 19th centuries. Posed like the European portraits of comparable time periods, the ladies and gentlemen of the colonial portraits are surrounded by touches of local interest, sometimes with recognizable backgrounds. They are dressed in silver ornaments, local pearls, oriental silks or brocades and exhibit other items of historical interest.

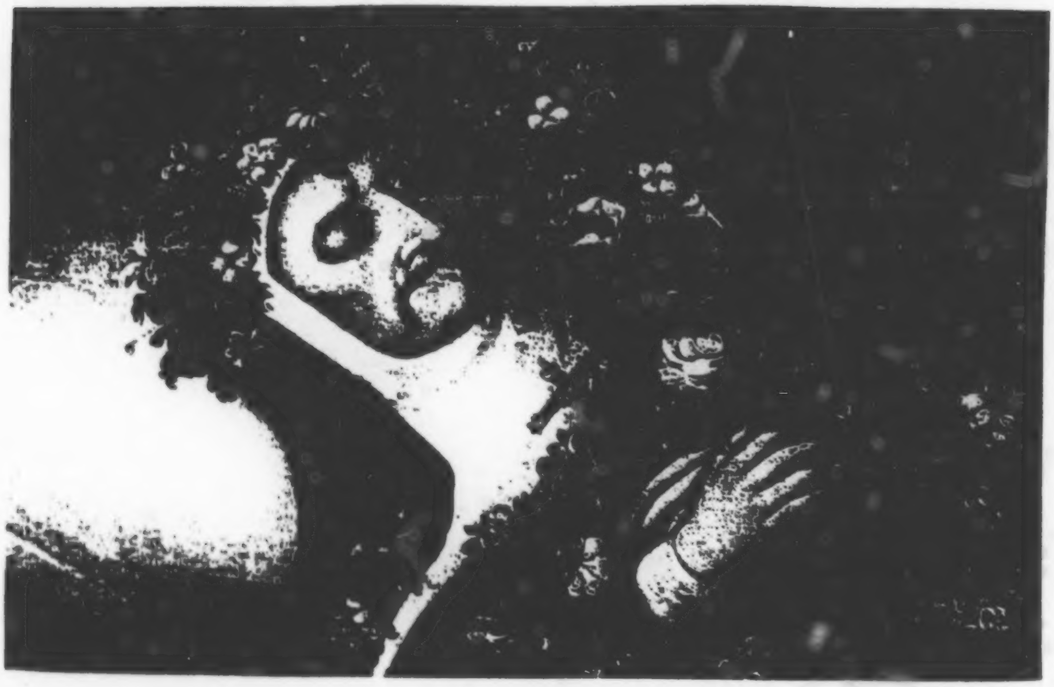
A series of paintings in Peruvian museums document the marriage of conquistadors with Inca royal princesses. Since Spanish women were for many years quite scarce in the New World, liaisons were often formalized with Indians, Orientals and blacks, resulting in progeny of mixed blood. Some of these are documented in the Mexican caste paintings, a unique type of 18th-century painting that celebrates the racial mixes found in the community and shows the various occupations of the people. A set of 12 caste paintings have recently been placed on loan to the Denver Art Museum from Jan and Frederick Mayer and may be seen on the fourth floor in the Mexican Gallery.

As time passed, the children of creoles who were born in America, and mestizos, persons of mixed blood, gained in social standing and wealth. The affluent colonial society that emerged from its European origins grew differently from that of the mother country, rooted in a vast and varied geography with countless resources of minerals, foods, flora and fauna and multitudes of opportunities for new activities. The one powerful and cohesive factor was, of course, the Catholic church, and this institution melded each region into a surprisingly cohesive society.[5] Whole communities turned out regularly for festivities and celebrations, elaborate funerals, marriages, executions or public punishments and installations of office. Church calendar feast days and special religious occasions were marked by elaborate pageants, long processions with costumes and floats, public feasting, public speeches, bullrunning, bullfighting and fireworks as well as special masses, sermons and church ceremonies. Written descriptions survive of how towns decorated for festivities. Arrivals and departures of prominent citizens as well as events in Spain, such as the birth of an heir to the throne and other relevant occurrences, occasioned elaborate and expensive preparations for public celebrations.[6] Several paintings from the Cuzqueño school offer documentation of spectacles with recognizable portraits of the participants, huge crowds and lavish costuming.

Immigration to the colonies was carefully screened and visitors discouraged. Few were admitted who were not of some useful service, such as administrators, clerics, farmers, miners or craftsmen. Women in colonial New Spain or New Granada with artistic, intellectual or musical inclinations would often choose to enter the religious life rather than marry. Opportunities and freedom in some convents were more available than in life as the wife of a Spanish administrator or landowner. Spanish women were sequestered and always heavily chaperoned. Convents could sometimes offer such amenities as residence chambers for a maid or attendant and space for personal possessions, even items of furniture and art. Lecturers and orchestras toured the larger convents and monasteries, and often frequently the only library in the community was in a religious institution. Wealthy widows often found it expedient to endow convents, and many colonial portraits bear inscriptions testifying to their generosity.

One of the most bizarre renderings of women in religious life are the paired paintings of colonial nuns, the first often commissioned by their families just before they took their final vows. These present the young girl dressed in the best of colonial elegance —in jewels and silk brocades, wearing a large badge of her chosen order, a high crown and shown carrying a bouquet of flowers. This represented her last bow to worldly life. Then, on her deathbed, another unique portrait completes the pair, a painting of the dead nun, eyes closed, usually with a bouquet of flowers marking her entry into heaven, dressed in her habit, her face composed (see illustration #4).

Illustration #4 **Portrait of a Dead Nun**



Portrait of a Dead Nun, Mexico, probably early 19th century, artist unknown, a memorable painting of an old nun laid out for burial, eyes closed, head resting on a pillow, her hands clasped, and a kind of restrained gaiety achieved with the brightly colored, carefully observed flowers that surround her, investing the painting with a type of other-wordly vision sometimes glimpsed in the old Russian icons. Painting a nun at the end of her earthly life was a custom in many Spanish colonial families and it complemented the painting which was probably commissioned at her entry into the religious life when she was a young girl. Women in the 18th-century colonies often found religious life in a convent more stimulating intellectually and spiritually, since Spanish women were seriously restricted in colonial life, especially in highly-placed social and political circles. The Spanish inscription as translated read, "having completed 84 years, two months and 23 days of life, and have been a nun 61 years, no months, in the convent of the Barefoot Augustinians dedicated to Our Lady of Solitude in Oaxaca, Rest in peace, year 01" (probably 1801).
(Photo courtesy Denver Art Museum, cat.#1985.678 gift of Dr. Seymour Rubenfeld)

The Artist and His Materials. Who were the painters, sculptors, craftsmen and metalworkers who built and decorated the great churches and cathedrals in the New World? In the early years they were often clerics, members of the mendicant orders, or artists recruited from Spain or other parts of Charles V's vast kingdom. These master artists came to America, taught others there, established guilds and schools and enlisted the native craftsmen to execute designs and specifications adapted from European models. The indigenous people, possessing a long tradition of highly skilled art themselves, found it relatively easy to adapt to European models and subject matters, although they continually included elements adapted from their own landscape and native religious traditions, to the great dismay of the friars who were constantly trying to root out local intrusions. One major disruptive factor, however, made itself known swiftly and insistently in the New World — earthquake — and led to a modification of the type of structure that could be built there with reasonable safety. Spain was still building Gothic (vertical lines) churches in the 16th century, but the colonies soon found that the Romanesque style (horizontal lines with thick walls) was much more expedient in the earthquake zone. However, Romanesque interiors are dim due to the small windows. The large quantities of gold and silver leaf that were applied to surfaces in Latin American churches, in addition to being a tribute to the religion itself, may have been an attempt to increase the amount of reflected light available inside.

In the Andes, another decorative technique called for dissolving gold dust in mercury, the only liquid metal. Gold highlighting was then stamped onto outlines and patterning of the altar screen paintings. Effective and practical, it made the subjects of the paintings more easily seen when picked out in gold highlights. Cuzco and Quito particularly are renowned for this mode of gold elaboration, called *embrocadero* or *imprimatura*, and in spite of the danger of mercury poisoning to the guilders, the technique was widely practiced in the 18th century.

The new world offered a variety of new materials for artists. New woods, abundant minerals for pigments, shell, fine stone, tortoiseshell, rare earths, native fibers, furs, wools and other plant or animal materials presented numerous choices for the artist. New scenery inspired different backgrounds and atmospheric effects. A work force with an artistic consciousness untrained in Greco-Roman standards of aesthetics but with its own traditions and expertise, adapted European models copied from Flemish engravings. Sometimes these copies emerged with different proportions and changed perspectives, thereby effectively creating a hybrid art and architecture that rendered the awareness and purposes of the new society more faithfully than an exact likeness might have done. Also, a new history dealing with the experience of the people in the Western Hemisphere began to be depicted in painting. New World art gradually found its own feet firmly grounded in experience and an ability to replicate itself and its value system in sure, convincing lineaments.

Why does it remain unknown? Largely now because colonial art is still in place, still being used or cherished as the priceless heritage of Latin American families. There is so little first quality Spanish Colonial art in northern museums that it is rarely written about. Not a single great name from the celebrated Mexican or Peruvian colonial painting schools is well known in the United States. In addition, colonial painting is frequently mistaken in auction houses for early Flemish which it often resembles, or it hangs unrecognized in museum storage rooms. Often Spanish Colonial painting does not bear signatures because they were cut off when the paintings were removed hastily from huge altar screens after the removal of clergy in Latin America in the late 18th century.

The whole problem seems to be hung up on a circular rack of thorns that begins with the fact that colonial art is not known because it is not seen, and it is not seen because, not being known, it is not sought after by museums and writers of art histories. A few major exhibitions have toured the country that contain colonial art, but after the initial interest aroused by them, much is forgotten again because the interest does not receive reinforcement. Nevertheless, the opportunity to investigate this productive area of human culture has never been more appealing. The colonial era of Latin America marked a high point of cultural richness that needs to be included in any overview of world history, and the critical part that art played in the creation and maintenance of a new world pleads for a hearing.

Note to Teachers. When European scholars came to the United States in this century to teach in American universities, setting up courses in what they called the "History of Western Civilization," the great contribution made by the countries settled by the Spanish-speaking peoples was largely overlooked. Art histories, following in the wake of the enthusiasm for the Greco-Roman heritage of Europeans, rarely gave much attention to Latin American arts except for a nod to church architecture.[7] There are few English books or articles on the topic, and it is difficult for students to grasp what soon appears to be a very broad subject field, for in the vast areas of South and Central America many regional styles sprang up, varying widely in the degree of European influence involved and the local contribution.

A good teaching syllabus is badly needed and could be prepared with collected essays on specific cultures within a general framework of historical chronology and some material on Baroque art, the predominant art style in colonial Spanish America. In addition, a collection of Spanish Colonial art slides is needed. Spanish Colonial art and culture is a wide-open field for any who speak Spanish or will learn and can travel.

Meantime, something can be accomplished if teachers realize that an area of human experience virtually unknown in the United States can be explored through the medium of the art of the period. In spite of the relative scarcity of educational materials, there are a few books with reproduced paintings and decorative arts illustrated. Some of these are listed in the annotated bibliography that follows.

The recent Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition, "Mexico: Splendors of Thirty Centuries," in catalogue form is one of the best sources at the moment, although it is restricted to Mexico, and other Latin American regional styles are not covered. The essays, especially the one by Octavio Paz, are very helpful.

For Peruvian arts, Carol Damian's new *Virgin of the Andes* could spark an educational session of great interest with a minimum of effort. Overhead projection of the material found in her book offers accessibility to the Virgin Mary paintings that embody the *Pachamama* symbolism and furnishes a vehicle for considering Andean cultures before and after the conquest.

ENDNOTES

1. These are Kelemen's statistics. See Pál Kelemen, *Baroque and Rococo in Latin America* (New York: The Macmillian Co, 1951) p. 3.

2. A new study by Carol Damian full of color plates, illustrates this connection clearly. See Carol Damian, *Virgin of the Andes* (Miami Beach: Grassfield Press, 1995).

3. See Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, Tales from Potosí (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press). The introduction is particularly helpful. Brown has also published a two-volume history of the city by the same author.

4. There are few travelers who have left a record of they encountered in the Spanish Americas because Spain controlled entry to the Spanish Americas so carefully that there were few travelers. However, Thomas Gage managed to slip in as a religious person. See J. Eric Thompson, ed., and introduction, *Thomas Gage's Travels in the New World* (Norman, Oklahoma: University Press of Oklahoma, 1958).

5. One of the most interesting primary sources for illustrating the cohesiveness of colonial society is the paperback, *Chronicle of Colonial Lima: the Diary of Joseph and Francisco Mugaburu, 1640-1697*, edited and translated by Robert Ryal Miller (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975). It is a lively account of life in the "City of Kings" begun by a sergeant of the palace guard and finished by his son, covering a period from 1622-1697.

6. For example, read the preparation for celebrating the canonization of St. Rose of Lima in the *Chronicle of Colonial Lima*, pp. 148, 150, 164, 295.

7. They still do not. The 5th revised and expanded edition of Janson, *History of World Art* (New York: Abrams, 1995) does not even mention Spanish Colonial art. Unfortunately, Janson is the most often used textbook for general art history courses in U.S. colleges and universities.

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The items of this bibliography were chosen to give the teacher a sense of colonial culture (with an emphasis on its art) rather than to provide information for knowledge of the conquest and colonial administration of Spanish Colonial America. That is available elsewhere.

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Innes, Hammond. *The Conquistadors.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969. A lively narrative account by a noted spy thriller writer. Good for recommending to students.

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TECHNOLOGY IN THE WORLD HISTORY SURVEY

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Technology is relevant to world history courses at all levels. My own experience has been in teaching the world history survey course at the freshman college level and in offering an upper division course on "Technology in World History." At both levels I make some effort to cover all of human experience. The phrase "some effort" is important here, because time restraints necessarily make selection an important part of the teaching and learning process. I will limit my discussion to the basic survey course, drawing upon my upper division course for examples only when relevant.

The structure of the lower division survey is an important part of how technology may be included, so I will briefly lay out the parameters of the courses. Chronological sequence is an important part of the survey, and our program divides history into three periods--Ancient (to 500 C.E.), Middle (500--1650 C.E.) and Modern (1650--present). A semester break at 1500 C.E. would work just as well with the themes discussed below. The Ancient period stresses the evolution from Paleolithic to Neolithic to Bronze and Iron Ages, culminating in the rise of the three great civilizations of antiquity-- Mediterranean, Indian and Chinese. Clearly, technological change is inherent in the designations of most of these periods, a point to which I will return shortly.

The Middle period focuses on the rise of the two great global civilizations: Islam and the West. It also treats the major regional civilizations-- China and East Asia, Greater India, and Byzantium and Eastern Europe--as well as the isolated areas of the world. The unifying element in the course is how Islam anticipated and influenced the expansion of western Europe. In spreading to Spain in the west to India and Southeast Asia in the east, Islam unified much of Eurasia and Africa and took over, if not created, the first global system.[1] Through Islamic hands the technological achievements of China and India were diffused throughout North Africa and Western Europe. In turn Western Europe in the High Middle Ages began to surge economically, culturally and technically and eventually became the second global civilization. In the modern period, Western Europe for the first time integrated the whole planet into a single world system. It also created the modern world, a unique period in world history. Hence, the theme for the Modern course is "modernity," a term whose definition we continually discuss and modify during the term. Technology plays an ever-intensifying role in this period, particularly in the Industrial Revolution and its changes in the modes of production which ultimately had immense social and demographic consequences. The shift to fossil fuel burning engines is critical in this process, as is the discovery and harnessing of electricity. Technical revolutions affecting every area of life ensued, especially communications and transportation. A new era, qualitatively and quantitatively superior to earlier times, arose.

The outline of the survey courses makes it clear that technology plays an important role in every time period. Rather than treating the whole of history from a technological perspective, I would like to suggest four ideas for handling technology: significance, technological evolution, great problems, and deadends. It is also important to state at this point that my teaching technique involves students learning the Doing World History methods described elsewhere in this publication.[2]

SIGNIFICANCE

The first of the four ideas is the concept of significance. One of the greatest difficulties that students have is in understanding the implications of a new trend or technological development. I think this is because rote learning of facts is over-emphasized at the expense of understanding how things fit together. Take the "Neolithic Revolution" as an example. The important point is not to date it to 8000 B.C.E., but to understand that this technological change fundamentally altered the economic and social structure of societies and eventually became dominant everywhere appropriate resources existed for it. Earlier forms of acquisition were pushed to marginal and useless land.

Another technological development that is often misunderstood is the appearance and diffusion of iron working in the second half of the second millennium B.C.E. As an isolated fact, students merely list it as a change that became generalized after 1000 B.C.E., overlooking its impact on other aspects of life. It helps students understand how events and processes fit together if some attention is devoted to the consequences of the introduction of iron. Due to its hardness and abundance in comparison to bronze, superior tools and weapons could be produced.

The diffusion of iron contributed to greater agricultural productivity which led to population increases. Similarly, iron weapons helped create the first large empires in Assyria and Persia. A map comparison of the size of Bronze Age empires with Assyria and Persia makes this change in the scale of empires clear. A few centuries after the introduction of iron, a quantum leap in the size of populations and states became generalized throughout Eurasia, from the Hellenistic empires and their successor Rome to Han China and the Mauryan Empire in India. Care has to be taken to help the students understand that a long, slow process common to many civilizations was involved that contributed to these developments.

The appearance of the railroad in the period after 1825 is a parallel case where stressing the consequences of a technological development helps students understand the significance of an invention. For the first time in history the railroad made transportation of goods on land competitive in price with transportation by water. The economic consequences were enormous as barriers to internal and continental trade were smashed. Local, regional economies were forced to compete with outside producers for the first time, and national and even larger firms became more common. In addition, military and other transportation-related activities suddenly became more mobile. Politically, larger state units could be built and sustained because resources could be more rapidly transported. A true transportation revolution had begun.[3]

In the late nineteenth century the internal combustion engine appeared as a competitor of the steam engine. The consequences of its application to transportation are well known, as it led to the appearance of both the automobile and airplane with revolutionary results. But it also became important in the field of agriculture when it was used in tractors in the period after 1910. This device made farm work much more efficient, eventually displacing the horse and other equine creatures from the production cycle. This efficiency in time and production contributed to the rise of modern agriculture which at least temporarily solved the problems of feeding an ever-growing population.

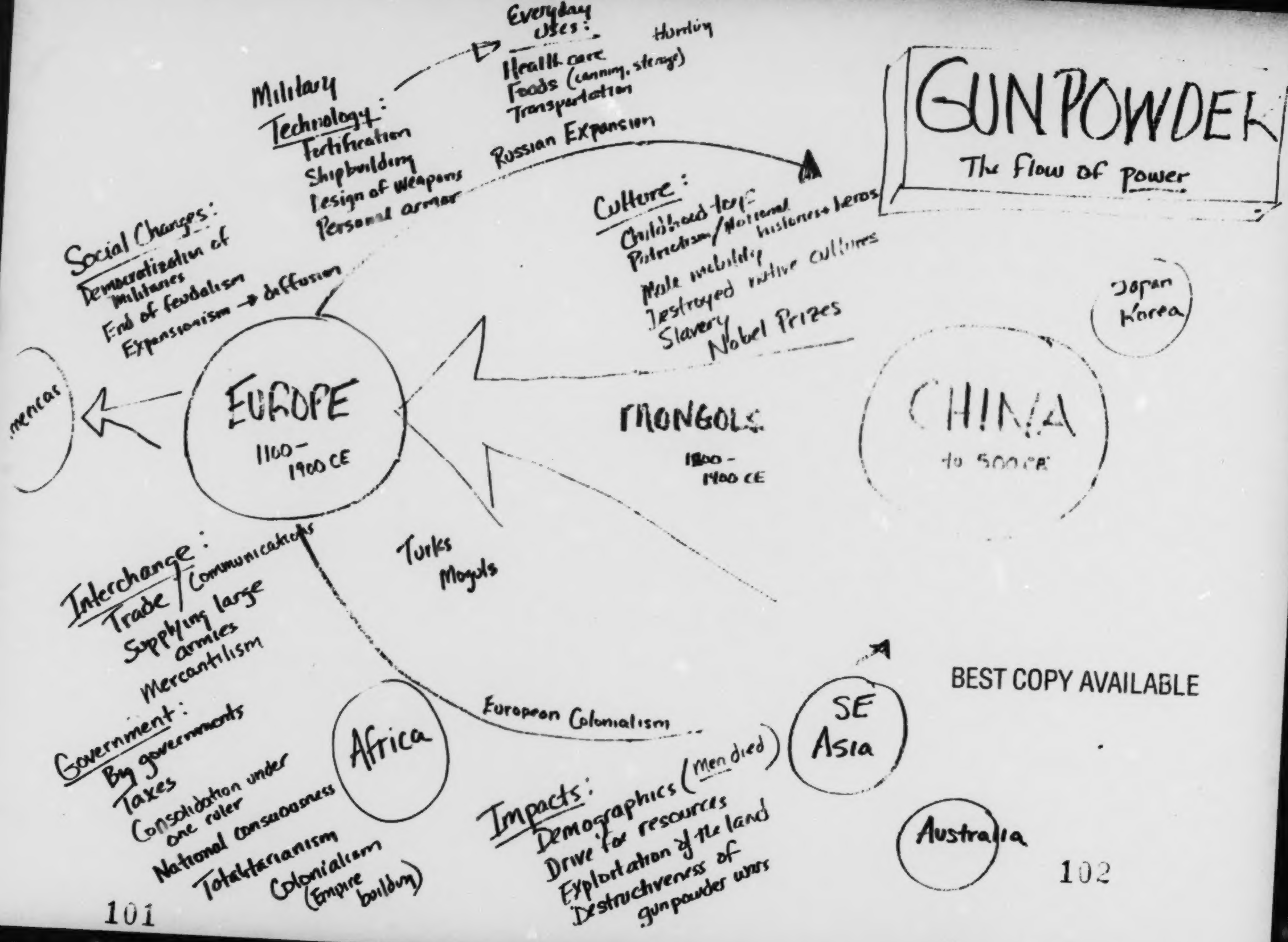
The Aspen World History Institute participants split up into groups to produce charts and graphs illustrating both the four concepts and Doing World History. One group illustrated the impact that the invention of gunpowder had in world history. [Illustration # 1] The group clearly showed the origins of gunpowder in China and its diffusion to the rest of the world and role in

European colonialism. Around the outside of the diffusion chart are various arenas of life that were affected by gunpowder ranging from warfare to demographics, government, interchanges, social changes, military technology, culture and everyday uses. That is, the chart explains the ultimate significance of the invention and spread of gunpowder. In evaluating this kind of material, I look for creativity and independent thinking beyond the material in the textbook. This group had no book and came up with interpretations and applications of their own. On the whole this is an excellent demonstration about the significance of gunpowder's development and diffusion.

TECHNOLOGICAL EVOLUTION

The second concept is the notion of technological evolution. This phenomenon can be easily demonstrated through archaeological materials from almost any continent. The changing nature of Iroquois pottery, for example, shows a clear evolution in form and decoration. The developmental sequence of prehistoric tools from various Amerindian cultures helps amplify this idea. Sometimes solutions to great problems can be reinforced by citing this kind of evolutionary evidence. For example, the similarity between Siberian Late Ice Age tools to more developed tools from North America supports the Bering Strait theory for explaining the origins of Amerindians.[4]

Often students are taught about the great inventions and their inventors, but this can be deceptive in its oversimplification and neglect of the process involved in technical change. In


GUNPOWDER
The flow of power
Everyday Uses:
Hunting
Health care
Foods (canning, storage)
Transportation
Military Technology:
Fortification
Shipbuilding
Design of weapons
Personal armor
Russian Expansion
Social Changes:
Democratization of militaries
End of feudalism
Expansionism → diffusion
Culture:
Childhood toys
Patriotism/National historical heros
Male mobility
Destroyed native cultures
Slavery
Nobel Prizes
Japan
Korea
mericas
EUROPE
1100 - 1900 CE
MONGOLS
1200 - 1400 CE
CHINA
to 500 CE
Interchange:
Trade / Communications
Supplying large armies
Mercantilism
Turks
Moguls
Government:
Big governments
Taxes
Consolidation under one ruler
National consciousness
Totalitarianism
Colonialism (Empire building)
Africa
European Colonialism
SE Asia
Impacts:
Demographics (Men died)
Drive for resources
Exploitation of the land
Destructiveness of gunpowder wars
Australia

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my experience, students generally have trouble understanding processes or developments over long periods of time of any kind. This may be related to the emphasis in traditional history teaching on names, dates and particular civilizations. To overcome this problem, I have them write essays and create group charts and graphs that trace the evolution of various technological developments. Often I will require them to do a technological cut through three or four chapters from the textbook, using Doing World History.

In the Paleolithic period there were long periods when tools changed very slowly. From about 1.5 million to about 200,000 years ago the multi-purpose hand-ax was the dominant tool of the species.[5] Eventually tools were down-sized and designed for specialized tasks, almost always leading toward smaller tools with more economical use of stone. This had the effect of freeing people from carrying around large quantities of stone and from frequently visiting the quarries.[6] This process of down-sizing seems to be a universal phenomenon whenever a new technology is invented. Witness the shrinking of internal combustion engines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or more recently the miniaturization of computers and other electronic devices.

After the disappearance of the big game at the end of the Ice Age, fine adjustments to local environments were made. This led to microlithic tool kits, highly specialized to meet tasks demanded by regional resources. In some areas, resources had to be carefully managed. This included harvesting wild grain at the appropriate time. Settlements appeared in various places in the eastern Mediterranean to take advantage of these grain harvests. Evidence from several sites reveals an evolution from a wild grain gathering society, still dependent on hunting wild animals for much of its food, to an agricultural community. We know this because wild grain has a hard husk that has to be baked to be removed. The roasting ovens for this process appear in early levels at several places. After a few thousand years these roasting ovens no longer appear in the archaeological evidence. A new form of grain, moreover, does appear--the huskless kind, a domesticate. The selective breeding of grain over a long period of time eventually resulted in a new technological development, domesticated plants. The other areas where agriculture developed do not have the quantity of evidence that the eastern Mediterranean does, but a similar process of change through human intervention must have occurred in those areas also. A similar evolution appeared in the domestication of animals, and the process continues to the present for both plants and animals.[7] The name "Neolithic Revolution" tends to obscure these processes that took thousands of years.

Similarly, the diffusion of agriculture was relatively slow, not reaching Greece for example until about 6000 B.C.E. In America it was even slower. Primitive maize was domesticated before 5000 B.C.E., but settled agriculture became significant only about 1500 B.C.E. The "Pyrotechnic Revolution" that accompanied the Neolithic Revolution is often overlooked, or presented in such disconnected segments it is misunderstood. The Greeks as early as Hesiod in the eighth century B.C.E. recognized the importance of the use of fire in creating civilization. Interestingly, Zeus punished Prometheus, the fire giver, for revealing its secret to humankind. The use of fire goes back perhaps to Homo Erectus, mainly for warmth, cooking and lighting. Various accidental discoveries, scholars hypothesize, led to using fire to make ceramics. Perhaps unbaked clay dishes fell into the cooking fire. (Of course, unbaked clay dishes also were technological developments). Exact dates for fired ceramics are not available, but in some cultures they may antedate agriculture. In the Neolithic period, ceramics became very widespread. It is also possible that fire was used in tool making to make the materials easier to work. Here we must remember that materials like bone and leather were utilized in addition to stone. In any case, after a period of several thousand years, the experience in working with fire was applied to metals. By 3000 B.C.E. bronze, a compound of copper and arsenic or tin, was developed. High temperature ovens, originally used in ceramic firing, were needed for this process.

Iron was often a bi-product of bronze production, as it is very common and was present in some of the copper-bearing ores that were cooked in the production of bronze. In the period from 1600 B.C.E. iron gradually became more common and was purposefully produced for reasons mentioned above. By the way, it is a common error in many world history texts to attribute iron to the Hittites or the Indo-European invaders of the Bronze Age world. This tendency is a left-over from earlier imaginative scholarly reconstructions of the Hittite expansion and the collapse of the Bronze Age, but it is not supported by the evidence.[8]

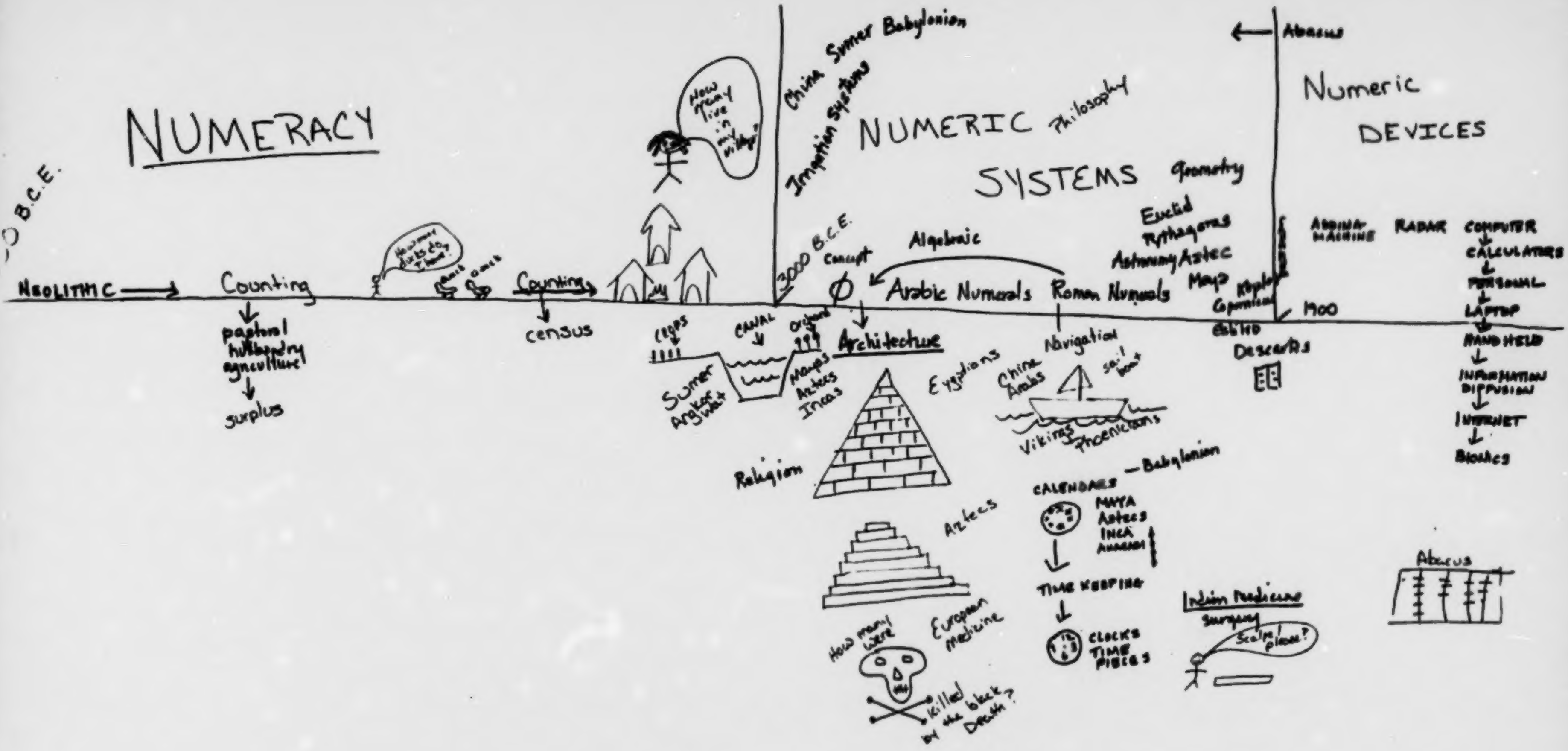
All this supports the point that technological changes happen through an evolutionary process. The Pyrotechnic Revolution, like the Neolithic, was really an evolutionary process that lasted for thousands of years. The use of fire in cooking and ceramic production eventually led to metallurgy in the form of bronze and iron. Instead of treating the Paleolithic, Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages as separate entities, we can now see a process connecting them. It is also worth pointing out here that when bronze and iron were produced, the older materials were not completely displaced. Neolithic materials continue to be used in many parts of the world even today.

A second group at the Aspen World History Institute chose to illustrate the notion of technological evolution by producing a time line about the development of "Numeracy." This group used the Big Picture method from Doing World History and hence produced a time line showing the development of counting systems. Not having access to books they have a few items outside of time, like the abacus, but on the whole I thought it was a creative effort to show evolution of human achievement in a significant subject. [Illustration #2]

GREAT PROBLEMS

Since I teach history as an activity that one pursues, I try to emphasize the controversies that rage in various fields. The goal is to stimulate the students to marshal evidence and construct arguments as practicing historians. History's nature as an open-ended process of inquiry is emphasized here, not the mere reciting of facts from the textbook. Similar views about science and science education are expressed in a recent *Los Angeles Times* article. Bruce M. Alberts, a cell biologist, complains that "We have turned people off on science because science education has all too often become a boring process of memorization that buries a child's natural desire to understand how things work." Things can be fixed "...if educators can be made to understand that good science is an investigative process."[9] If we replace the words "science" and "science education" with "world History" and "history education", these statements would reflect the current situation in world history teaching.

In this light my third idea for teaching technology is to emphasize the great problems historians address in the history of civilizations and technology. For example, Why the Neolithic


NUMERACY
B.C.E.
NEOLITHIC
Counting
pastoral
husbandry
agriculture
surplus
How many birds do I have?
Counting
census
How many live in my village?
crops
CANAL
orchard
Sumer
Angkor Wat
Mayas
Aztecs
Incas
3000 B.C.E.
China
Sumer
Babylonian
Irrigation Systems
NUMERIC
SYSTEMS
Philosophy
Geometry
concept
Ø
Algebraic
Arabic Numerals
Roman Numerals
Euclid
Pythagoras
Astronomy Aztec
Maya
Kepler
Copernicus
Galileo
Descartes
Architecture
Egyptians
Religion
Aztecs
How many were killed by the black Death?
European medicine
Navigation
China
Arabs
sail boat
Vikings
Phoenicians
CALENDARS
— Babylonian
MAYA
Aztecs
INCA
TIME KEEPING
CLOCKS
TIME PIECES
Indian Medicine
surgery
Scalpel please?
Abacus
Numeric
DEVICES
1900
ADDING MACHINE
RADAR
COMPUTER
CALCULATORS
PERSONAL
LAPTOP
HAND HELD
INFORMATION DIFFUSION
INTERNET
BIONICS
Abacus

Revolution? Why would people give up a life style that offered much freedom and leisure for the drudgery of agriculture? In making any momentous change of this nature, people must have serious motivation. Climatic change was perhaps a factor, as the earth became warmer and big game disappeared. Alternatively, population pressure may have forced people to look for more efficient use of the available land. The point here is to get the students to look at the available evidence and to draw their own conclusions. Donald O. Henry's *From Foraging to Agriculture: the Levant at the End of the Ice Age* discusses this problem from an Eastern Mediterranean perspective and briefly mentions areas outside the Levant. He suggests there are only local or regional, not worldwide, reasons for the shift to agriculture.[10] It would be an interesting project for students to research the archaeology of those other early agricultural areas to challenge his opinion.

Another example from ancient history centers on the Roman Empire. Compared to all its political and cultural achievements, many scholars consider its technological and economic progress to be nil. This interpretation is called the "Finley/Jones model" after M.I. Finley and A.H.M.S. Jones, two great historians of the ancient economy. They pointed to the dominant role of agriculture in Roman society and to the relative lack of achievement in developing a complex technology. Various reasons for this supposed backwardness are cited, including the dominance in society of the extremely small aristocratic class and the prominent role in the economy played by slavery. In the mid-1980's this model began to be challenged as anachronistic and as relying too heavily on the literary evidence which overwhelmingly reflects the views of the aristocracy. Further, Finley and Jones down-played the value of archaeological evidence which potentially could offer correctives to the biases of the literary sources. The most prominent figure here is Kevin Greene who surveyed the archaeological evidence across several technologies, including agriculture, transport and architecture. He shows how clear evolutionary developments did occur in Roman technology at the very time that slavery was predominant, the first two centuries C.E.[11] There are several technical areas where the Romans made substantial progress. For example, glass blowing became an important industry for the first time in the first century C.E. and continued to play an important role in the economy thereafter, even expanding from Italy into the provinces. The Romans were especially creative in the ship building industry, producing an incredible variety of specialized craft for various purposes. A particularly impressive, monstrous ship of more than 1000 tons capacity is described in the second century C.E. author Lucian.[12] In the milling of grain, major advances in the first two centuries of the empire occurred as most production shifted from hand grinding in small mills to large animal-powered mills. Eventually water mills were invented, including a monstrous set of water wheels from southern France built in the early second century C.E.[13] Continuing archaeological research will doubtless increase the appreciation of Roman technological and economic achievement.[14] In the meantime, with what do we replace the Finley/Jones model?[15]

A more focused problem, but still one of great interest, is the locale for the invention of gunpowder and cannons. A curious anomaly exists between two recent authorities in the history of technology, Arnold Pacey and Ahmad al-Hassan and Donald R. Hill. In his *Technology in World Civilization*, Pacey carefully traces the history of gunpowder and the development of guns and cannon through archaeological and written sources. He concludes that guns appeared in China about 1280, but the cannon was not developed until about 1325 in Italy.[16] In contrast, al-Hassan and Hill's *Islamic Technology: An Illustrated History* quotes both Arabic and Christian authors who mention cannons as early as 1204.[17] This is clearly a thorny anomaly that students will find exciting and interesting to ponder. One possible area of research would be to took at the possibility of independent invention of gunpowder and related weaponry in Islamic territory.

Another, more sweeping set of problems which bridges the Ancient , Medieval and Modern periods is the question about China's loss of technological leadership after about 1300. From the Han period until the thirteenth century C.E. the Chinese were the world leaders in developing new technologies. They developed the critical inventions of gunpowder, paper and compass, part of the technological material for the Middle period course. But thereafter they became technologically conservative and eventually lost the leadership to Western Europe. Why? This question is known as Needham's problem after Joseph Needham, the great scholar of Chinese science and technology. Various answers have been suggested, ranging from the dominance of society by the Confucian gentry, who were not interested in technological progress, to the effects of the Mongol conquest.[18]

The corollary to this problem is Why did Western Europe take over as world leaders in technology? Here too there are an interesting number of suggested answers that students should be encouraged to research and discuss. These range from political and economic considerations, like the size of the Chinese empire compared to European states, to religious and philosophical differences, Christianity and Greek-derived philosophies versus Taoism and Neo-Confucianism. I am particularly fond of the notion that China was basically self-sufficient economically while the Europeans were attracted to goods from East Asia and hence had intense motives for trying to get there. Also appealing is the idea that capitalism had more political impact in the smaller European states where merchant wealth could be made available to the kings, while merchants had no influence in the huge Chinese empire. Attached in Appendix 1 is a short list of possible factors drawn from my reading and my own reflections on this topic.

The background to the Industrial Revolution offers another example of a Big Problem. Recent scholarship is finding several elements as critical in the making of the Industrial Revolution, particularly the harnessing of fossil fuel powered machines for production purposes and the development of a factory system of labor management.[19] The fact that it was an evolutionary process is now becoming more commonly emphasized.[20] But how does it relate to the expansion of the West in the early modern period and to the Scientific Revolution? Margaret Jacobs explored the latter question in a study of the educational background of the entrepreneurs and inventors in the first half of the eighteenth century and discovered that they all had been educated in the new scientific tradition.[21] Due to their scientific knowledge, they were willing to expend time and money on radical experiments with the production cycle. In the subsequent two centuries the cooperation between technology and science becomes the characteristic that separates western science and technology from other civilizations. Today it is common to hear the expression "science and technology" as if it were a simple entity, whereas in reality cooperation between the two is a historical phenomenon that happened fairly recently.

The emergence of the multiple engineering disciplines, particularly after 1850, is a product of this trend. And just what are engineers, scientists or technicians? Engineering is some kind of strange hybrid, involving both theoretical and mathematical studies of nature and practical application of knowledge to produce new artifacts. Engineers have become so involved with the theoretical and design functions of their discipline that a new field focusing on practical applications had to be developed, engineering technology.

The eighteenth and nineteenth century developments in the science of chemistry confirm this point about the harmony between science and technology in the emergence of modernity. Like engineering, chemistry involves both manipulation of materials (technology) and theoretical explanations of how things work (science). Its rise to prominence coincides with the discovery of electricity and the development of machinery that set the modern period off from previous eras. The development of batteries, fertilizers, petroleum and photography, to name only a few chemical developments, contributed to take-offs in many fields from transportation to electronics and agriculture.

A different take on the relation between science and technology emerges when we consider the reverse situation wherein technological advances lead to scientific progress. For example, near the beginning of the Scientific Revolution Galileo took advantage of progress in optics and lens grinding to build his telescope. This allowed him eventually to challenge traditional astronomical ideas. The other great figures of the Scientific Revolution similarly used new technologies. During the Industrial Revolution, the steam engine was developed independently from science. In the 1820's the discovery of the three laws of thermodynamics came about due to theoretical study of how steam engines operated. In the period after 1950 the advent of computers changed scientific (not to mention engineering) methods in fundamental ways. This raises the whole issue of the relationship between technology and science. There is a good recent article on this subject in *Technology and Culture*, where various definitions of technology are discussed in some detail.[22]

From a historical perspective, Arnold Pacey believes that technological progress in the late Medieval and Early Modern period created a mental outlook emphasizing careful methodology and preparation, experimentation, efficiency studies and mathematical explanations for physical phenomena that prepared the ground for the emergence of the Scientific Revolution.[23] That is, technological change led to scientific change. So, perhaps, a complete rethinking needs to be done about the relationship between all these elements, from early modern technological progress to the Scientific and Industrial Revolutions up to the present.

Another important world historical element in the story of the expansion of the West and the Industrial Revolution involves the question of technological dialogue between other cultures and the West. Pacey points to a few examples of western borrowing from other cultures in the period of expansion.[24] In the Industrial Revolution he suggests that the quality and cheapness of Indian textiles stimulated research into means of duplicating Indian products.[25] This information seems to indicate that the technologies of the early Modern period as well as that of the Industrial Revolution should not be considered as western inventions independent of outside influences. A good problem for students to explore would be to look at cases of technological dialogue and mutual influences between western and non-western cultures. Currently, textbooks emphasize the role of technology in the West's expansion, over-simplifying a complex world historical phenomenon.

DEAD ENDS

In the enthusiasm to celebrate the achievements of technology, it is often overlooked that technological changes have not always panned out. There are many "dead-ends" in technological development that are of some interest. This is my fourth concept for teaching technology in the world history survey. George Basalla in his book touting the evolutionary nature of technological invention mentions in great detail several fairly recent examples--the steam powered railway in England that overcame the problem of the heavy weight of steam engines by placing them on the ground and pulling the trains along by creating a vacuum to suck the trains forward.[26] In the late 1950's and throughout the 1960's the United States government subsidized an atomic powered cargo ship which lost millions every year. It was built for political reasons rather than for economic and technological ones, and hence eventually was shelved when political will ran dry in the face of economic considerations.[27]

The experiment in atomic power itself is another example of what, at least in 1996, appears to be a technological dead-end. The nation of India, in particular, bought into nuclear power in the late 1940's and 1950's and wasted precious start-up capital on what appears to be an expensive and dangerous experiment. Similar, but not as serious, efforts were made in the United States, France and other western nations. The defunct Soviet Union and its satellites may be the worst examples of the deadliness of nuclear power and how technology gone wrong can have fatal consequences.[28]

In ancient times also there were some very costly technological bloopers. One of the earliest pyramids in Egypt had to be abandoned while the work was in progress because the inclination of the faces was too steep. The debris from the collapsed tomb is evident in the archaeological record.[29] From the Hellenistic period, one of the Ptolemies of Egypt attempted to build a huge naval vessel powered by oars and sails and carrying marines. As it turned out, the ship was so huge that it couldn't move in the water.[30]

In my modern course I like to have the students read the novel *Ishmael* by Daniel Quinn.[31] It is very provocative for them because it both offers an interpretation of history and tackles the problem of the current ecological crisis. Actually, these views are articulated by Quinn's hero, a gorilla named "Ishmael." The main point boils down to humanity's having taken a technological turn that leads to a dead end, although Quinn does not put it in those words. The big mistake that humans made was in buying into the Neolithic Revolution. All the other changes, including the Industrial Revolution, are determined by that one wrong turn. Pollution, global warming, the massive extinctions of the current scene all result from the shift from gathering and hunting to agriculture and the changed attitudes toward the environment that resulted. I try not to be intrusive when students write about and discuss these issues. Rather, I offer a series of questions designed to ensure that they understand the various factual points the author mentions and that they think about the questions he raises about human history. Appendix 2 has a list of my questions. I also supplement the information in the textbook by bringing in recent ecological articles from popular publications like the *Los Angeles Times*, *National Geographic, Scientific American* and the World Watch Institute's annual Vital Signs.

Needless to say, a lot of controversy arises over Quinn's criticism of civilization as a "dead end." Some students challenge the environmental data and the negative consequences most scientists draw from it. Others embrace his point as a valid criticism of civilization and modernity. This controversy presents the students with an opportunity to discuss the nature of evidence and the problems civilizations face when traditional approaches to societal needs seem to be having consequences that threaten the very survival of society. Is modern society in a position similar to ancient Mesopotamia's where salt deposits from irrigation destroyed the soil's fertility? Or is it like most other civilizations whose methods of survival eventually destroyed them? Should massive changes be undertaken to prevent the anticipated negative consequences, or should the traditional system continue as is?

It is indeed ironic to finish a year's study of world history with the question of the possibility of people destroying life on the planet through the creation of technologies intended to make life easier, better and longer. History is a drama, a doing, and it can be interpreted as a tragedy. This conclusion for the modern world is certainly consistent with the way other civilizations turned out. And yet, a substantial number of my students think technology will save the world in the long run. Other means of salvation are never mentioned in the discussion of the current crisis. It seems to be a universally accepted axiom that the fate of the planet is tied to technology. This viewpoint is a characteristic of our times and reflects the experience of the last few generations which have seen the most dramatic technological changes in history.

I have attempted to present a limited number of ways to work technology into the world history survey while still suggesting its pervasive importance throughout human history. Personally there are other interesting topics like culture, social conditions, religions and philosophy, to name a few, that I like to spend time on. By carefully selecting these four concepts and tying them to students' participating in the historical process, I am able to use course time the most economically. I hope the readers will profit from these suggestions and perhaps work some of them into their own courses.

ENDNOTES

1. See Richard M Eaton, *Islamic History as Global History*, (Washington, D.C.:American Historical Association, 1990).

2. Briefly, Doing World History involves learning five methods: Big Picture, Diffusion, Syncretism, Comparison and Common Phenomena. See the accompanying article "Teaching and Assessing the Doing World History Method in the World History Survey."

3. When treating the railroad, care should be taken to connect the locomotive with the evolution of the application of steam engines.

4. Paul Tolstoy, "From the Old World to the New World Via the Bering Strait," in *North America*, Shirley Gorentstein et al. eds., (N.Y.:St. Martin's Press, 1975) 170-173.

5. John A.J. Gowlett, *Ascent to Civilization: The Archaeology of Early Humans*, 2nd ed., (N.Y.et al:McGraw-Hill, 1993), 62.

6. Andre Leroi-Gourhan, Chapter 1: "Primitive Societies," in *A History of Technology and Invention: Progress Through the Ages*, vol. 1, Maurice Daumas ed., Eileen B. Hennessy trans. (New York: Crown, 1969), 25-26.

7. David and Joan Oates, *The Rise of Civilization* (New York :Elsevier Phaidon, 1976,) 71-79.

8. See Theodore A. Wertime and James A. Muhly, eds., *The Coming of the Age of Iron* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), chaps 1 and 2 for a discussion of the Pyrotechnic Revolution and the details of the question of Hittite and Indo-European possession of iron.

9. Lee Dye, "Not too Late to Keep Young Flames Burning," *Los Angeles Times* August 26, 1996, D7 & 10.

10. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 234-236.

11. Kevin Greene, *The Archaeology of the Roman Economy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

12. See his "The Ship," Selection no. 28, p. 112-113, in Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold eds., *Roman Civilization: Selected Readings, vol. II: The Empire*, third edition (N.Y.:Columbia University Press, 1990).

13. See Philippe Leveau, "The Barbegal Water Mill in its Environment: Archaeology and the Economic and Social History of Antiquity," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9, 1996. 137-153.

14. Kevin Greene also has written an interesting article related to this topic, "Technology and innovation in context: the Roman background to mediaeval and later developments," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7. 1994. 22-33. A relevant, readable background book is K.D. White, *Greek and Roman Technology* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984).

15. See also Joel Mokyr, *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress* (New York:Oxford University Press, 1990). Chapter two offers a thorough discussion of the arguments about Roman technology, although he doesn't mention Greene.

16. (Cambridge, Mass.:MIT Press, 1990), 44-49.

17. (Cambridge et al: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 111-115.

18. Mokyr chapter 8 offers an interesting discussion of these issues, but it is not meant for students.

19. Pacey, *Technology*, 116.

20. Vaclav Smil, *Energy in World History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 192.

21. *The Cultural Meaning of the Scientific Revolution* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), chapter 5 "The Cultural Origins of the First Industrial Revolution."

22. Rachel Laudan, "Natural Alliance or Forced Marriage? Changing Relations between the Histories of Science and Technology," *Technology and Culture*, 36.2 Supplement (April 1995), S 17-S28).

23. Pacey *Technology*, 98-100.

24. Pacey *Technology*, 100-101.

25. Pacey T*echnology*, 117-128.

26. *The Evolution of Technology* (New York:Cambridge University Press, 1988), 177-181.

27. Basalla, *Evolution*, 184-185.

28. Mike Edwards, "Pollution in the Former U.S.S.R.:Lethal Legacy," *National Geographic* 186.2 (August, 1994), 70-99, and "Living With the Memory of Chernobyl," Ibid., 100-115.

29. Ervan Garrison, *A History of Engineering and Technology: Artful Methods*, (Boca Raton et al:CRC Press, 1991), 27-29.

30. Smil, *Energy*, 135-136.

31. (New York: Bantam, 1992).

APPENDIX 1 WHY WESTERN EUROPE?

1. Geography

Atlantic coast-facing--experience in Azores et al; learned about winds
Escaped Mongol devastation
Failed Crusades--west and south the only directions to go in order to enter global trading network

2. Technology

Learned from Islam, India and China--compass, gunpowder, shipping, paper, printing press....
Took lead in 15th cent--astrolabe, improved compass, sails, ship-building; lens grinding, metallurgy

3. Economic

Merchant capital expansion in late middle ages
Rise of cities
Decline of feudalism
Demand for eastern products
Technical innovation and borrowing--competition and copying

4. Political

Small political units where merchants could have an impact
Growth of monarch's power at expense of local dukes and lords
Competition between monarchies

5. Demography

Primogeniture meant many second and third sons had to look beyond homes for wealth and power (compare Normans in Sicily)

6. Religion

Christianity intolerant of other faiths
Also was an aggressive missionary religion
Crusades had been based on religious justification for taking other societies' possessions

APPENDIX 2

ISHMAEL QUESTIONS

1. What is the significance of the name "Ishmael?"
2. What makes Ishmael especially capable of teaching how to save the world?
3. What does Nazi Germany have to do with the point Ishmael is trying to make?
4. Who are the Takers and Leavers?
5 What story is Taker society enacting?
6. In Taker mythology why is there no certain knowledge about how to live?
7. How is the Taker Thunderbolt like a primitive flying machine?
8. What is the significance of Thomas Malthus and Robert Wallace?
9 What is the basic law about how to live?
10. How do the Takers violate this law?
11. What does the fundamental law ensure? and why is it important?
12. What will be the inevitable result of the Takers violating the fundamental law?
13. What does the example of Native American societies show?
14. According to Ishmael what kind of special knowledge do the gods have?
15. How does Ishmael interpret the Adam and Eve/Cain and Able stories?
16. Compare the Leavers' attitudes toward the past with the Takers'.
17. Is culture mindless? Has it started a process that has captured the human race?
18 What story are the Leavers enacting?
19. Who are the gods in Ishmael's reasoning about the creation and managing of the world?
20. To whom do the Leavers trust themselves?--the Takers?
21. What are the new names for the Takers and Leavers?
22. How did man become man? Why will Taker culture prevent him from becoming something more?
23. In the Leaver story, what is man's role?
24. How can the destruction of life be prevented?
25. What is the prison industry in Taker culture?
26. Since it is too late to go back to Leaver societies, how can the planet and universe be saved?

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MONKS AND NUNS AS AGENTS OF GLOBAL CHANGE –100 C.E. - 1200 C.E.

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Content Outline

- I. Introduction
- II. Languages
    - A. Introduction
    - B. Translators in China
    - C. Translation and educational centers
    - D. Impact on Chinese language and literature
- III. Pilgrimages
    - A. Introduction
    - B. Chinese pilgrims
    - C. Local pilgrimages
- IV. Hospitals and Medicine
    - A. Introduction
    - B. Hospitals and acts of compassion
    - C. Changes in medicine
- V. Festivals and Food
    - A. Introduction
    - B. Major Buddhist festivals in China
    - C. Buddhism and food
- VI. Miscellaneous Social and Economic Services
    - A. Pawn brokerages
    - B. Loan operations
    - C. Public auctions
    - D. Lotto
- VII Conclusion

Monks and Nuns as Agents of Global Change--1--C.E.-1200 C.E.

Between 100 C.E. - 1200 C.E. "**universal religions**" spread widely, crossing cultural boundaries and replacing or absorbing older traditions of localized gods in much of Europe, Asia and Africa. Three of the major universal religions, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, offered salvation to individuals regardless of their geographic location. Buddhism spread primarily from South Asia to Central Asia, East Asia, and Southeast Asia; Christianity spread primarily in the Mediterranean region following the rough outlines of the Roman Empire; Islam spread from the Arabian peninsula through West Asia, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, and Africa. The acceptance of one of the universal religions led to changes in many cultural areas. Directly influenced were languages, travel patterns (pilgrimages), hospital building, festival days, and much more. Individual missionaries in all three universal religions played a part in such cultural changes, but the focus here will be primarily on the activities of the Buddhist monks and nuns.

Languages

The Catholic Christian Church, headed by the pope in Rome, and Islam under the guidance of Mohammed and the **caliphs** (successors to the prophet Mohammed) determined that their main religious texts and ceremonies should be limited to one language. For the Catholic church that language was Latin; for Islam the language was Arabic. This meant that converts to these religions, whatever their native language, would be exposed to not only a universal religion, but also to a universal language. This language provided some sense of unity throughout the region of religious conversion. The Orthodox or Eastern Christian Church which spread primarily in Greek speaking areas of the Mediterranean and Buddhism opted to allow translation of religious texts and ceremonies into the native language of potential converts. The Eastern Christian churches developed new written languages like **Coptic**, a written language developed by the monastic community in the third century to translate the Bible into the language of the Egyptian population, and **Cyrillic**, a written language developed for the conversion of the Slavs attributed to St. Cyril in the ninth century.

The spread of Buddhism from India to Central Asia and East Asia led to a number of innovations in the area of language studies. The most complete records of this process come from China. Here foreigners started to translate Buddhist texts into Chinese by the second half of the second century. About a dozen translators are known by name in this early period and 29 surviving translations can be attributed to them. Iranians and Tocharian speaking people from Central Asia predominated among the early translators rather than individuals from India. This suggests they may have been translating texts from vernacular languages of northwest India and Gandhara rather than from **Sanskrit,** the classical language of northern India. By the end of the fourth century, foreign and Chinese monks were being assembled in special translation bureaus patronized by members of the ruling families to collaborate in the work of translation. By the fifth and sixth centuries translations improved as foreign monks acquired a better understanding of Chinese languages and Chinese translators acquired a better understanding of both Buddhism and foreign languages, particularly Sanskrit.

While men translated the majority of the religious texts, nuns as well as monks were engaged in the process of explicating texts and gaining converts. The first group of foreign nuns arrived in southern China in 429 by sea in the boat of a foreign ship captain. The same captain transported eleven more nuns from Sri Lanka to China in 433.By the time the second group of nuns from Sri Lanka arrived, members of the first groups were said to be fluent in Chinese. The records do not indicate whether the Sri Lankan nuns initiated the voyages or whether Chinese requested them to undertake the rather dangerous journey. Whatever the case, these Sri Lankan nuns soon arranged for an Indian monk to preside over the ritual for bestowing monastic rules on Chinese converts. Many of the 300 Chinese women who took their vows on this occasion had already received the rules in earlier ceremonies initiated by an assembly of monks, but the legitimacy of this process had been questioned since scripture called for an assembly of nuns to perform the ritual.

Records from the fifth and sixth century reveal a very active community of nuns, especially in southern China. Chinese nuns and even lay members lectured on the meaning of various Buddhist texts in monasteries and in public. Individual women gained reputations for their expertise and understanding of particular texts. (See biography of nun Tao-tsung at end.)

The translation and understanding of Buddhist texts in China involved people from many cultural backgrounds linked together by a common universal religion. The effort also involved individuals of considerable scholastic understanding, and monasteries and nunneries often emerged as noted centers of learning. They established libraries, provided education for both members of the monastic orders and lay people, and served as residences for scholars taking traditional secular civil service examinations.

The impact of monasteries as centers for learning were so great that Chinese secular academies of learning which emerged in the thirteenth century adopted physical structures that were parallel to the Buddhist monastery. The layout of the dormitories, kitchen, bath, granaries, and lecture halls were very similar. The academies had libraries and sponsored the printing of books just as the monasteries did. Even the rules of the academy had many parallels to the rules of the monastic community.

The process of translating Buddhist texts and learning from other languages to Chinese affected the understanding of the Chinese language itself. Exposure to Sanskrit language and Indian linguists made Chinese more aware of the features of sound of their own language. This led to a new method of indicating how Chinese characters should sound, a feature soon being used in dictionaries and textbooks. Poets tried to achieve in Chinese some of the same effects that meter achieved in Sanskrit. Tonal rules for certain types of poetry followed general rules laid down by Sanskrit handbooks on poetics.

Attempts to make Buddhism attractive to a wide audience in China led to new developments in oral and written story telling as well. The vernacular language of the people rather than more classical forms were deemed appropriate for this task. Poetry and prose were utilized together in an attempt to create a lively, captivating style. Like modern soap operas, stories were often told in episodic form with each episode broken off at a high point of suspense to bring the listener back to hear more the next time. Illustrations or paintings often accompanied the stories to transmit the stories more effectively. Soon secular story tellers and writers were borrowing these techniques for their own work.

Pilgrimages

Followers of universal religions frequently made pilgrimages to sites considered sacred to their religion. The traffic in Christian travelers to the Holy land, to Egyptian monastic retreats in the desert, to Antioch, and to other sacred sites increased so rapidly in the fourth century that specialized inns, transport facilities, and souvenir makers emerged to meet the demand. The Spanish nun Egeria who visited the Holy Land in 384 left a vivid diary of her travel experiences and other later pilgrims followed her in the practice of diary keeping. Archaeologists have recovered examples of the types of souvenirs available to the average tourist--lamps, bottles for holding water from the river Jordan, seals, pictures, and other mementoes. Pilgrimage sites continued to increase during the middle ages as local saints and the churches associated with their remains were added to the list of desirable places to visit. Muslims made similar journeys to pilgrimage sites. The *Koran* called upon all believers capable of doing so to make at least once in their lifetime a visit to sacred sites in Mecca and its vicinity. The trip called the **haj** brought individuals from a variety of cultures together in one place, thus emphasizing the universal nature of the region. Diaries and souvenirs emerged from Islamic pilgrimages just as they did from Christian pilgrimages.

Buddhists also traveled to sacred sites. Early Buddhist travelers were motivated not only by the sacred sites, but also by the possibility of finding new Buddhist texts to translate or new teachers to teach. Some simply were fulfilling vows. Some traveled in groups, others went individually. Fa-hsien is the first individual to record a successful trip to India and back. He left China in 399 taking the overland route through Central Asia to seek original editions of the rules for monks living in monastic orders. He crossed the desert to Khotan, then followed the southern route into northwestern India. He visited Taxila, Gandhara, and other cities in the region before moving eastward to Pataliputra where he spent two years studying the Indian language and copying texts. He decided to return by sea and spent two years on the island of Sri Lanka. After a trying 200 days on the sea, he finally reached China in 314. The entire trip had taken some fifteen years. Fa-hsien contributed to a better understanding of the geography and history of the area. He was followed by many other Chinese pilgrims, but the number of surviving diaries of their travels is disappointingly small.

While there are no records of Chinese Buddhist nuns making pilgrimages to India, the desire to do so is evident from the biography of the nun, Sen-ching. After meeting a Sri Lankan nun in the fifth century, Seng-ching felt inspired to make a pilgrimage across the ocean to seek out the traces of the Buddha's holy life on earth. Although she reached the southern coastal region of China, the local monasteries and people in the region would not allow her to embark as the voyages were considered dangerous. Frustrated in her attempts to make an international pilgrimage, she spent thirty years in the area carrying out missionary work among the non-Chinese with whom she lived.

For many individuals, the opportunities to undertake pilgrimages to India were limited. However, Chinese records from the fifth century onward indicate that pilgrimages to famous Buddhist sites in China were frequent. Men and women, clergy and lay persons took part in such pilgrimages. Pilgrimages provided an opportunity to travel, to study with new masters, to meet with new people, and to break up the ordinary routine of daily life.

Hospitals and Medicine

Followers of all three of these universal religions operated hospitals. For Christian and Muslim, hospital operations counted as acts of charity. In the Christian world of the Eastern Mediterranean, hospitals appeared in the fourth century and dealt with both the sick and the poor. This continued to be true through much of the middle ages.

In China, records mention hospitals in the context of acts of compassion. In the fourth century, acts of compassion included the giving of charity to the poor and the dispensing of medicine to the sick. However, records of organized hospitals appear only in the T'ang dynasty (618-907 CE). Before this time mention is made primarily to individual monks who excelled in prescribing medicines. Among the lists of famous physicians were Indians, Central Asians, and Chinese. In the T'ang period hospitals were managed in a variety of ways. Sometimes individual monks maintained them, sometimes monasteries operated them in conjunction with the government, and sometimes monasteries undertook the work on their own. Like Christian and Muslim hospitals, Buddhist hospitals dealt with both the poor and the sick. Regulations issued in 741 against beggars plying their profession in the capital, added that beggars could be accommodated at the monastic hospitals in the area.

Foreign monks introduced new medical techniques and theory to China. Initially some of the new techniques, especially those involving surgery seemed to the Chinese to contain elements of magic. The ability to open the body, remove the stomach, and wash it without harming the patient drew the attention of even dynastic historians. Removal of cataracts, operations involving the lining of the stomach and other surgical procedures startled Chinese who had relied primarily on herbal and mineral remedies over surgical. Some of the famous foreign surgeons also practiced magic in its purer form. One of the Central Asian monks famous for his medical skills made things disappear, made fire or flowers suddenly appear, and performed other feats of magic to gain the attention and respect of rulers and high officials. Certain Indian monks could eat fire, burn themselves without apparent pain, and insert sharp objects into through their bodies without feeling discomfort. Some monks apparently tried to cure people with extreme forms of magic since the secular T'ang codes included provisions for removing any monk using sorcery to effect cures from monastic orders.

While operating hospitals and dispensing medicine counted as acts of compassion, individuals and groups in the monastic orders evidently utilized both to gain attention and conversions to the faith.

Festivals and Food

In all three major universal religions, new festival dates and practices arose. Accommodations often had to be made with popular local traditions which further enriched the sense of celebration and festivity. For instance, the celebration of places associated with popular local saints emerged in both Christian and Islamic lands often in the face of theoretical opposition.

Major Buddhist festivals included the Lantern Festival, Buddha's birthday, and All Souls' Feast. The Lantern Festival occurred for three nights during the New Year's celebrations and involved the lighting of oil lanterns to shine for three nights in monasteries and major thoroughfares in the city. This light and lifting of ordinary curfews allowed the populace to stay out as late as they liked during the festival. The Buddha's birthday celebration included carrying statutes and painted figures of Buddha and other popular Buddhist deities through the streets in processions or parades which included musicians, carriages decorated with bright banners and streams, and monks decked out in various colorful robes. A ceremonial washing of the statue of

Buddha highlighted the festival. Relics, usually bone or teeth thought to belong to the Buddha, were also installed in the lucky recipient monasteries during this celebration. Similar festivals were witnessed in India, Khotan, and other places where Buddhism had spread. At All Souls Feast lay Buddhists presented a feast to the monastic community and the Buddha in remembrance of their parents and ancestors. During this festival, monasteries displayed their treasures, presented dramatic performances, and performed various acts of magic. Again color and entertainment constituted a large part of the ceremony.

Certain special foods appeared at Buddhist festivals. Special cakes, a particular rice gruel, or even special millet surfaced at the appropriate festival.

Rules governing the behavior of Buddhist monks and nuns also affected eating behavior to some extent. Rules governing the behavior of monks required abstinence from liquor, from meat, and from strong smelling foods including garlics, leeks and three types of onions. Also taboo according to monastic rules was eating any solid food after noon. In early biographies monks and nuns receive praise for keeping to vegetarian diets, and there is occasional mention of meals forgone after noon. Some attempts were made to extend these rules to the eating habits of lay people. The attempts did not always meet with a popular reception. When one ardent Buddhist official demanded students to give up fish and meat at the imperial academy in the fifth century, a riot ensued. In spite of resistance in some circles to these rules, the eating of beef did seem to decline at least in south China during the fifth and sixth centuries.

However, the rules against the eating of meat were often ignored even in monasteries. Fish and meat were both consumed frequently and openly in monasateries even before the T'ang dynasty. As long as one did not witness the preparation of the food, meat could be eaten in most monasteries. Rules concerning the avoidance of alcohol and even the five strong flavors did not always prevail and the rule against eating after noon time was ignored more than it was followed. In spite of the frequent disregard for the rules, fine vegetarian cuisine emerged from many monasatic kitchens for both the clergy and the travelers who used the monasteries as inns.

Miscellaneous Social and Economic Services

China accepted many practices of the universal religion of Buddhism largely intact, modified others, and contributed some innovations of her own. One arena of Chinese Buddhist innovations, the pawn brokerage, originated in the fifth century. The first reference to monastery involvement in the practice appears in a legal document. A prime minister pawned a yellow cow, a white fur cushion given to him by the emperor, and an old fashion hat pin. The case appeared before the law courts only after a younger brother had redeemed the items and cut up the imperial gift to make a more stylish fur cap. He was executed for his brazen treatment of an imperial gift. This institution along with many other Chinese Buddhist institutions spread to Japan.

Loan associations which first surfaced in India became very popular in China. Religious clubs were organized to aid the monasteries build monuments and prepare vegetarian feasts. Soon club members were pooling money to establish a loan fund which could be used by members for funeral expenses. Monasteries themselves began to provide loans both in kind and in coin. T'ang dynasty monasteries were loaning seeds to farmers, silk to traders, and money to a variety of people. Compassion served as the rationale for making such loans, but eighth century records recording per annum interest rates of 240 percent make the act appear more similar to loan-sharking than acts of compassion.

Public auctions apparently originated in India in association with Buddhist monasteries. The few cloths and possessions of a deceased monk had originally been given to others in the monastery since family ties had been renounced when taking monastic vows. It was impossible to divide up such items evenly in a way that would not cause hard feelings among the monks so items were auctioned off. In China auctions were announced to the community ahead of time, items were displayed, and an auctioneer tried to get fair value for the goods being sold. Funds were used for funeral expenses, to pay monks for reciting sutras at the funeral, and for the monastic treasury.

Lotteries also appeared in monastic settings. The origins of lotteries is unclear, but they were flourishing in China and Japan by the thirteenth century.

Conclusion

The spread of universal religions involved far more than the spread of religious ideas and practices. A whole range of social institutions and habits could be affected as different cultures interacted under the unifying umbrella of a universal religion.

The nun Tao-tsung (Summing up the Way) (d.463) of Three -Story Convent in Chiang-ling

Tao-tsung, whose family origins are unknown, lived in Three-Story Convent in Chiang-ling [which was in west central China on the north bank of the Yangtze River]. As a child she had no intention of setting herself apart; as an adult she did not consider associating with others a defilement. She merely followed a course along the boundary between the wise and the foolish, and, although outwardly she seemed muddled, yet within she traversed hidden profundities.

On the full-moon night of the fifteenth day of the third month, in the seventh year of the *ta-ming* reign period (463) of the Sung dynasty, Tao-tsung, as an offering to the Buddha, purified herself in a fire fed by oil. Even though she was engulfed by flames up to her forehead, and her eyes and ears were nearly consumed, her chanting of the scriptures did not falter. Monastics and householders sighed in wonder; the demonic and upright were alike startled. When the country heard this news, everyone aspired to attain enlightenment. The appointed court scholar of Sun, Liu Ch'iu (438-495), especially revered her and composed a Buddhist-style poetic verse to praise her.

The nun Seng-ching (Respect in the Sangha) (402-486) of Exalted Sanctity Convent

Seng-ching's secular surname was Li. Her family was originally from Kuei-chi [some distance to the southeast of the capital]. They resided, however [in the vicinity of the capital]at Mo-ling.

When Seng-ching was still in her mother's womb, the family arranged a meeting, requesting the monk Seng-chao from Pottery Office Monastery and the nun T'an-chih from Western Convent each to point at the mother's belly and address the unborn baby as a disciple. The mother, on behalf of her unborn child, whether boy or girl, would be committed to the religious life.

On the day when she was about to give birth, the mother dreamed of a supernatural being who said to her, "You may sponsor a ceremony of taking the eight precepts of the householder." She forthwith gave orders to begin the preparations, but, before the monks and the statues had been gathered together, Seng-ching was born. A voice out of nowhere said, "You may give her as a disciple to the nun Pai of Establishing Peace Convent." The mother complied.

Seng-ching, by the age of five or six, was able to repeat from memory scriptures that she had heard others chant. She read several hundred scrolls of scripture, and her marvelous understanding of them increased daily. Practicing sacrificial vegetarianism her pure manner became more and more manifest.

In the *yüan-chia* reign period (424-453) [of the Sung dynasty], when K'ung Mo went out as an officer to keep order in Kuang Province [in south China], he took Seng-ching along in his retinue. Seng-chin happened to meet the foreign nun Tessara and the others who were on their way to the Sung capital. They were all of highly exceptional conduct and appearance, and [Seng-ching, in order to accord fully with the monastic regulations and tradition that required that she receive the monastic obligation from both the Assembly of Monks and Assembly of Nuns] went through a second ceremony [of receiving the complete monastic obligation, accepting the rules from the foreign nuns as well as from the monks].

Seng-ching, deeply awakened to the truth of impermanence, wanted to embark on a pilgrimage across the ocean to seek out the holy traces of the Buddha's life on earth. The monastics and house-holders prevented her, however, and she remained in the Ling-nan region in south China for more than thirty years. Her manner gradually changed the hearts of the barbarian peopels of the south among whom she lived. A total of thirteen families donated land and went together to build a convent for her at Ch'ao-t'ing, calling it Built by the Multitude.

Emperor Ming (439-472) of the Sung dynasty heard about Seng-ching and issued an invitation all that distance to her, to welcome her to his presence. The monastics and householders of P'an-yü [the region in south China where she lived] grieved at the thought of losing her.

When Seng-ching returned to the capital, she lived by imperial decree in Exalted Sanctity Convent, where monastics and house-holders alike submitted to her instruction. A certain Yüeh Tsun of Tan-yang donated land and built a convent for her to which she later moved.

The Ch'i heir apparent, Wen-hui (458-493) [who was a the first son of Emperor Wu], and the prince of Ching-ling, Wen hsüan (460-494) [who was the second son of Emperor Wu], both admiring her virtuous practice, personally made donations without fail.

Seng-ching died on the third day of the second month of the fourth year of the *yung-ming* reign period (486) at the age of eighty-four and was buried on the south side of Bell Mountain. Her disciples erected a memorial stone for which the vice president of the department of the imperial grand secretariat, Shen Yüeh of Wu-hsing County, wrote the inscription.

Quoted from the translation of Kathryn Ann Tsai

(See selected list of primary sources)

Selected List of Related Primary Sources

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PART TWO: World History Habits of the Mind

The Discipline: Cultivating Historical Thinking

Teaching to the Discipline: Doing World History

Integrating Habits of Mind: Three Approaches to Historical Analysis

Cultivating Habits of Inclusiveness: Gendering World History

CULTIVATING HISTORICAL THINKING

Elizabeth Badger

The College Board

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the various standards that are currently being published is their effort to reconceptualize their respective disciplines. Common to all is the discontent that thoughtful educators feel about the gap between how their disciplines are taught in the classroom and how they are actually practiced. All deplore the large doses of facts and received wisdom that typically pass for education. All reveal a fundamental shift in what is thought as the goal of education. Instead of producing an intellectual elite -- a group of mini-scientists, historians, geographers, mathematicians, and authors -- all declare that the value of education depends, to a large measure, upon its capacity for producing thoughtful citizens who can make informed decisions. In this sense, the disciplines have become democratized to include all students.

Although these trends run through all the current discipline standards being produced, for the purpose of discussing historical thinking standards, the science standards hold a particular relevance. Traditionally, science has been taught as received knowledge--whether it be the knowledge of physical laws as they pertain to natural phenomena, or the vast terminology that marks out the field of biology. The story behind that knowledge has been absent. What actually occurs when scientists work together, the real process of doing science, has been largely ignored in classroom discussion. And, possibly because of this, science has been notorious for its loss of student commitment--particularly on the part of women and minorities. The "pipeline" is a term that is well-known and often used in circles that discuss science education. In England, it would be called a "steeple-chase," which may be a better metaphor: those few who emerge at the finish line have managed to jump over all the hurdles along the way, proving that they are ready to do real science.

The new Science Standards reflect an ambition to rectify this. Deep among the content standards, which set out what students should know, there is a discussion of how they might think of science. This is stated in terms of "science as a human endeavor." It recognizes the fact that scientific knowledge and theory do not exist in a vacuum, but have evolved in a social, political and very human context which influences, not only how discoveries are explained, but which discoveries are actually made. Here we find:

> **Scientists are influenced by societal, cultural, and personal beliefs and ways of viewing the world. Science is not separate from society but rather science is part of society. ...much can be learned about the internal working of science and the nature of science from study of individual scientists, their daily work, and their efforts to advance scientific knowledge in their area of study.**

National Research Council, 1996, p.201

A second, equally important shift in thinking is reflected in the discussion of the scientific processes that have been considered the hallmark of scientific thinking. Traditionally taught as objectives in their own right, the Standards assert that its use of the term "inquiry" is:

> **. . . a step beyond "science as a process," in which students learn skills, such as observation, inference, and experimentation. The new vision includes the "processes of science" and requires that students combine processes and scientific knowledge as they use scientific reasoning and critical thinking to develop their understanding.**

National Research Council, p. 105

Although somewhat dwarfed by the content sections of that large book that codifies what should be learned and how it should be taught, these discussions of the nature of science are, to my mind, the most revolutionary of the standards because they represent, not just the scientific enterprise, but the gestalt of our time. By recognizing the necessary subjectivity of thinking, the fact that even the "most objective" of scientists and scholars are, necessarily, caught in the web of their own time, they acknowledge that we have been deceiving students. We have been sanitizing the process of doing science (or history, or the analysis of literature or art) of all the human turmoil--personal political, social, cultural--in order to present the final product as if it were the entirety of the subject. In doing so, we have deprived students of the excitement of scholarship, presenting a pre-cooked package of accepted theory --"objective", impersonal, boring, static, and, essentially, untrue.

This conclusion on the part of science educators is particularly relevant to the study of history, where science has been viewed as a paradigm. The accumulation of evidence in the service of the discovery of physical laws and, perhaps, a unifying theory of nature has formed a model for historical investigations. Primacy has been given to factual information. Scientific criteria such as objectivity and parsimony have been imposed on the messy, willful behavior of humans. Connections are transformed to cause-and-effect relationships; what may be real is distorted into a kind of abstract unreality. This has been the legacy of science, but no longer. That science educators are beginning to acknowledge that a certain amount of human confusion forms the sub-stratum for scientific endeavor should be taken as a caution. The paradigm is shifting.

What does this shift toward the more personal and the more contextual mean for history education, particularly the teaching of historical thinking? Two things come to mind. One is a greater recognition that the true object of historical understanding is not natural laws but those societal, cultural and personal beliefs that determine behavior. The second is the recognition that each of us, by virtue of our human experience, can contribute to the discourse. In other words, when we take the human predicament as the object of our study, then our goal is interpretation, not explanation. Thus, we move from a world of objective expertise to the world of narrative, because interpretations are judged, not on their correctness, but on their reasonableness, consistency, and sensitivity. In this world, the students' task is not longer to remember how history is explained, but to use the experts, together with their own understanding of the world, to construct valid interpretations. This is a much more difficult, much lengthier process, than merely learning what the experts have told us, but it is a skill that, once learned, has wide applications in everyday life, as well as historical thinking.

Facts, of course, form building blocks for historical interpretation: we are not discussing fiction here. But how many facts are needed? And if the truth does not emerge from the accumulation of knowledge, how does one get at it? I suggest that not many facts may be needed initially in this quest for "truth." Initially, perhaps what is needed is the ability to empathize, to imagine the frame in which those facts appear, to get a sense of what it is like to be a human bound by those factual conditions. It might be more productive, and more accurate, to use facts more deliberately for their interpretative value. Perhaps we might look at this process as a cycle: the inter-action of interpretation and evidence, beginning with very few facts as the basis of "imaginative construction." This is hazardous ground as we try to interpret intentions and actions of people in a different time and different culture. However, we are saved from complete anarchy by two things. One is more facts, which we can use to adjust, correct, or even discredit. The other is a criteria of reasonableness and coherence. "Is it confirmed by other facts? Does my interpretation fit within the frame?" Obviously, the "facts" are not to be dismissed. They form a criteria for the validity of the interpretation; but it is the interpretation that is paramount.

What does this imply for the curriculum? It implies that students should learn their role of "interpreters" from the earliest grades, beginning with a few facts and simple interpretations, to a larger body of facts and more complex and sophisticated interpretations as they progress through school.

This brings us to a second implication: the need for group discourse. It has become commonplace to remark that individual intellectual achievements are built on the shoulders of giants. We have been more reticent in acknowledging the collaborative nature of most contemporary intellectual work. In a world where information far outdistances the human capacity to absorb it, we must collaborate if we are to begin to understand our field of interest, however narrow. The notion of " distributed intelligence," meaning that knowledge resides in many difference sources, has become commonplace. No one is expected to "know it all." But we have not often acted on that knowledge in the classroom.

But, there are other intellectual justifications for collaborating in the classroom, which are more connected with the kinds of historical habits of mind that we wish to engender. The process of doing history which we described above cannot be accomplished on its own. If students are really to be encouraged to use their imaginative and emphatic skills to construct interpretations of history, they need a reality checking. They need the discourse that historians enjoy for their own work. They need to engage in that cycle of presentation, critiquing, and revision in order to experience what it is like to perform real intellectual work. Furthermore, if we acknowledge the primacy of culture in our perception of the world around us, we must recognize that different individuals bring, not only different skills to the task, but different viewpoints and insights. Sharing these unique perceptions and understandings of what the "facts" mean provides a learning opportunity for everyone.

Part 2: Teaching Historical Thinking Through The Black Death

General Introduction

The Black Death was developed by the College Board as a prototype for teaching the kinds of historical thinking that we should expect of students. Attempting to go beyond a telling or retelling of the fourteenth century pandemic, it encourages students to consider how people lived and explained their world in a far different context than one that exists today.

Unlike most historical units, the material is not laid out chronologically, but by the kinds of intellectual and emotional experiences we want students to encounter, as well as the type of cognitive demands that are entailed. That is, it asks students to empathize, to intellectualize, to examine evidence, and to draw conclusions from different kinds of data. However, we are also aware that the pressure for content coverage seldom matches the available time in any teacher's day. The unit is designed to be taken apart, to be used selectively, to be expanded or contracted according to the needs of different kinds of students.

Section 1: Setting the Scene

What is it like to live through a pandemic? We begin the unit with a paradox. If we ignore the vast differences -- physical, emotional, intellectual -- between the Middle Ages and the world we now inhabit, we ignore the essence of history. On the other hand, if we emphasize those differences we risk sacrificing students' ability to empathize, to recognize what is enduring and universal about human emotions. In this first section, we approach this dilemma through the use of art, by attempting to identify universal emotions, while recognizing the cultural specificity of symbols.

- Students are presented with a set of murals that were painted during the plague years (Traini, Orcagna) and with Bruegel's masterpiece, The Triumph of Death. They are asked to examine the paintings both intellectually and emotionally: How are these pictures alike/different? What story do you think that the artist is trying to convey? What feelings? How does he do this? Is he successful? What are your feelings as you view the painting?
- Students are next presented with a present day scenario, such as the video of Outbreak or a series of headlines about the Ebola virus. They are asked: *How does this make you feel?*

Why? What do you see alike and different between the outbreaks of Ebola and the Bubonic Plague?

- Students are then asked to paint or draw a picture conveying the feelings that the Ebola outbreak generates for them. How does their own work compare with those of the fourteen century paintings that they have examined? What do the differences in style and symbol reveal about different views of the world?

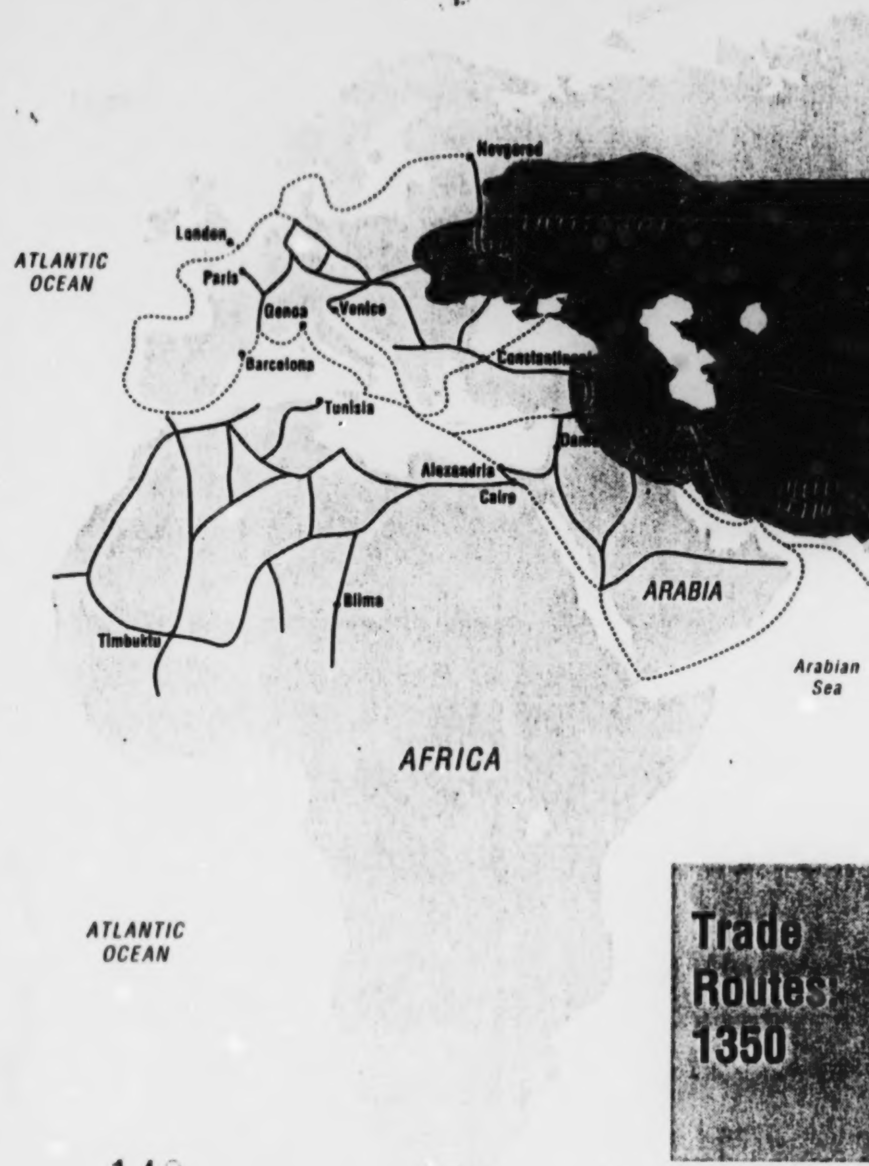
Section 2. The Disease: Gathering Factual Information

This section concerns three aspects of the disease: what people knew then, what they now know; and the actual spread of the disease from the far reaches of the Mongol Empire across Europe and the Mid-East.

A. What Caused the Black Death? Views from those who saw it.

In addition to the horror caused by human devastation, pandemics evoke terror born out of bewilderment. "Why?" is the universal question. In this section fourteenth century observers give different descriptions and explanations of the event. Some are contradictory; others may seem strange to our modern sensibilities. This is an appropriate time to discuss scientific thinking in the middle ages and the dependence of science on technology. It is also important to counteract any tendency to dismiss some of the ideas presented, but to stress the importance of understanding their context.

This selection is designed to expand students' understanding of the devastation of the plague and to the world view of the time. It is also intended to introduce students to the idea that, for every event, there are multiple points of view, each of which should be examined and understood as representative of a particular perspective.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Trade Routes: 1350

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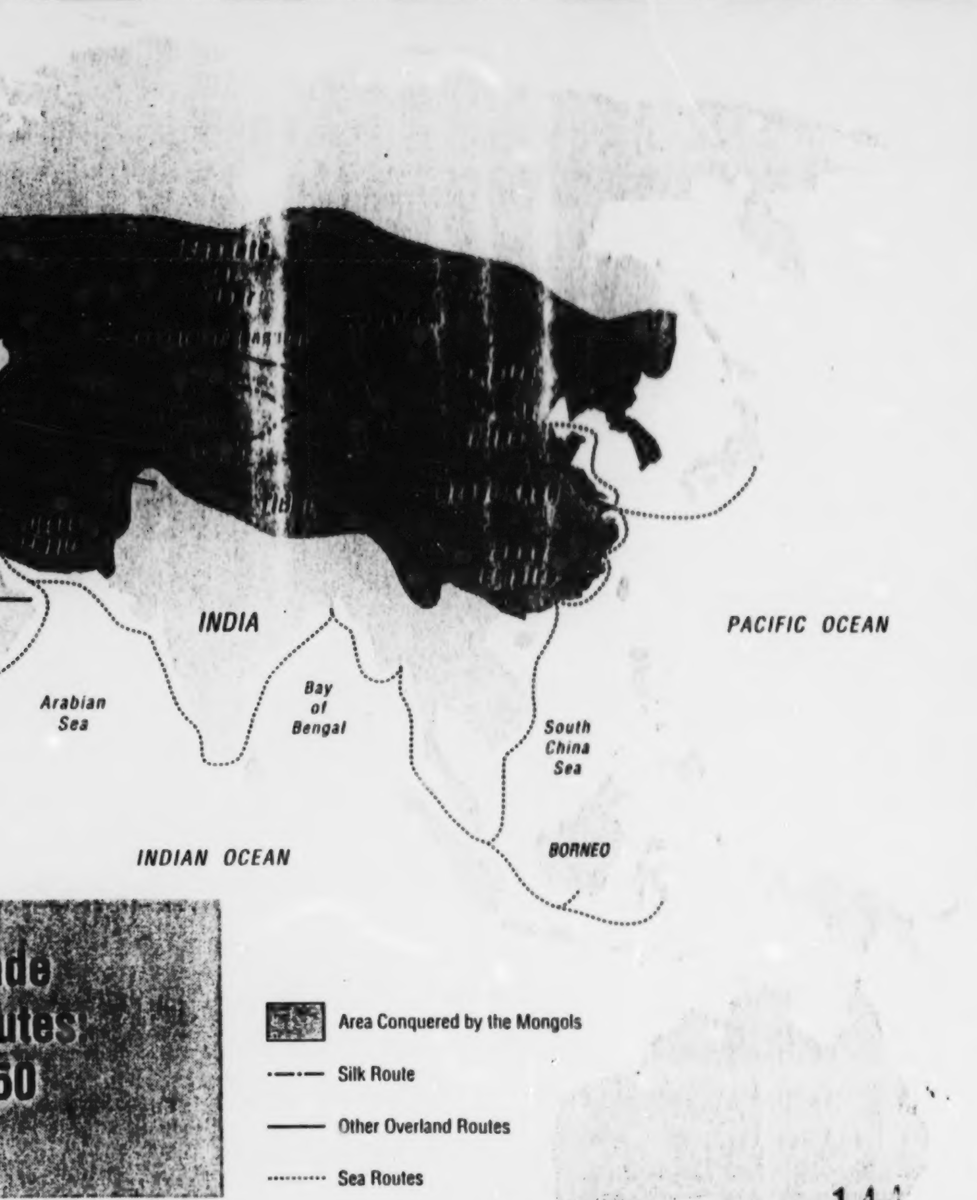
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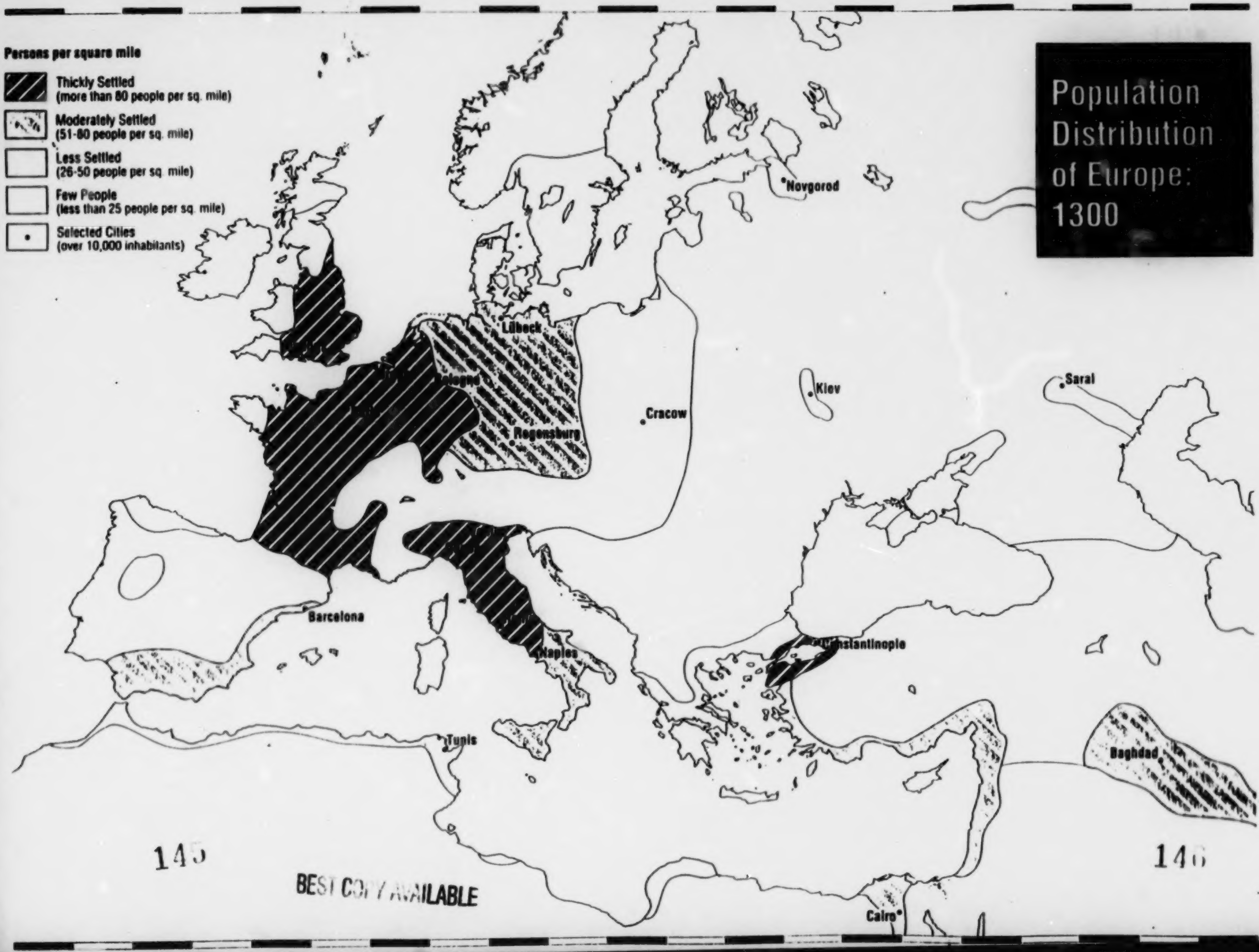

Population Distribution of Europe: 1300

Persons per square mile
Thickly Settled (more than 80 people per sq. mile)
Moderately Settled (51-80 people per sq. mile)
Less Settled (26-50 people per sq. mile)
Few People (less than 25 people per sq. mile)
Selected Cities (over 10,000 inhabitants)
Novgorod
Lübeck
Cologne
Kiev
Sarai
Cracow
Regensburg
Barcelona
Naples
Constantinople
Tunis
Baghdad
Cairo

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Students are asked to consider: *Is this piece based on something that the writer observed directly or a later reflection on the event? Does this matter? Was the piece made to be seen or read by others? What point is the author making? What does the piece tell you about the author' point of view? Does the piece tell you what people believed important at the time?*

B. What is the Black Death? What People Know Now

This activity introduces students to disease ecology: the inter-relationship among "human bodies, rat bodies, flea bodies, bacterial bodies and all other parts of the great life chain that were involved in the causation of bubonic plague in fourteenth century, as they are today." Information, in increasing degrees of detail, is presented about each of the entities. Individual students may research one or several and come together to pool their knowledge. Following discussion, they should be able to answer such questions as: *What is a bacterium? How does it cause disease? What are the different ways that this bacteria affected the body? How was this bacteria transmitted? What is the inter-relationship between the various players in the cycle (fleas, rodents, humans)?*

C. How Did It Travel? The Plague Route

The plague clearly followed trade routes set up by the Mongols. It has been hypothesized that it began its spread from China, where it had been endemic among rodents, and that it then followed the Silk Route that was used by fur traders. When it reached Cyprus, it continued its spread to Europe and North Africa via commercial shipping. This progression allows students to study and synthesize information from a set of maps to draw conclusions about global inter-dependency. Suggested maps to be used are:

- Trade Routes in 1350
- The Population Distribution of Europe and the Mediterranean in 1300
- Transmission of the Black Death in the Eurasian Continent in 1338-1349
- Progress of the Black Death in 1347-1372
- Population Loss from the Black Death

Students should be asked to study and compare the maps to make hypotheses about the route of the plague. *Why did the plague travel on the route that it did? Why did travelers choose those routes? What role did geographical features play in its transmission? What roles did humans play? What analogies can be made with the spread of disease today?*

SECTION 3: The Human Experience: The World in the 14th Century

Because a single unit on the Black Death cannot explain or summarize all the interesting dimensions of late medieval Europe, we focus on two types of environments: the sophisticated city of Florence and a rural, isolated hamlet in England. Each is typical of the types of settings in which plague devastated the populace. The actual mortality rate during the plague was about the same in these two regions, but in some important ways coping with the plague and its aftermath differed strongly between city and countryside.

The scene in Florence is presented through background writing, the Introduction to the Decameron by Boccaccio and, to a lesser extent, the writings of Petrach. These works require close reading and margin notes are included. The scene in Blackwater is adapted from the description of an imaginary hamlet in England (Philip Zegler, The Black Death, NY: Harper and Row, 1969). The reading is less demanding and readily adapted to role playing and other dramatic interpretations. It is supplemented with graphical material and some background on medieval country life.

For both alternatives, students are asked: To what extent can literature be a mirror of "truth" --that is, what really happened? Is fiction a legitimate way of learning history? How can you find what is true and what is untrue? Do you learn different things from different kinds of presentations?

SECTION 4: The Human Experience: Reactions to the Plague

Several types of behavioral reactions are presented in this section. In studying how each reaction was shaped by the beliefs and world-view of the time, students should be encouraged to go beyond the actual events to look for universal trends and specific parallels in other times and places.

A. Blame: Persecutions of Jews in Europe

This section concerns the events leading up to the burning of Jews and Jewish property in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. It contains original documents that describe the events. Students are asked to examine these documents in order to recreate for themselves the events that lead up to the burning, the possible causes for these events, and the notion of "scapegoating" -- both in the current case, the recent past, and the present.

In addition to the contemporary documents, students are presented with a short passage by an historian who argues for one possible cause of the Jewish persecution. Students are asked to present evidence and arguments that justify their agreement or disagreement with this interpretation.

B. Acceptance: The Plague in Egypt

Students are presented with the set of maps showing trade routes and the relative devastation of the plague. After reviewing what they know about the Moslem world, its geographic span and its major beliefs, they are then presented with descriptions of the plague in Egypt by contemporary observers and religious interpreters. Students are asked to combine their knowledge of Moslem beliefs to form hypotheses that may account for reactions to the plague in the Moslem world.

C. Fear: Flagellants and the Dance of Death in Europe

Students are given contemporary descriptions of the Flagellant processions and rituals, including a processional song. They are also presented with a collection of woodcuts and engravings depicting the Dance of Death. They are asked to use this material as evidence as they examine fourteenth century Christian beliefs about life, death, and the after-life.

Taken together, these three sets of documents provide an excellent opportunity for students to ponder the diversity of human emotions and discuss the possible causes for such diversity. Students might be asked: *Was there something uniquely different about the beliefs of these three sets of people which accounts for such a diversity in reaction? What were the immediate circumstances that provoked the reaction? Were there any similarities among these reactions? Could any of these reactions take place today? Why? How might they differ? What might be similar?*

SECTION 5: Long Term Effects: Examining Historical Evidence

This section deals with historical processes: research, analysis, and interpretation. It includes two types of evidence: statistics and documents.

- Students are given a set of charts and graphs displaying statistics (e.g., deaths, age structure, number of children of different classes, population) gathered from the records of Halsowen, a small town in England. Students are asked to read, analyze trends, and interpret the results in order to test hypotheses about the possible consequences of the plague in Europe. Teachers should note: *Can students read the tabular and graphical information about Halsowen accurately and critically? How well are they able to integrate the information to make interpretations? Does the available evidence support their interpretations?*
- Students are presented with a set of contemporary accounts of the effects of the plague in England. Students are asked to identify the perspective of the writers and to compare their accounts in order to form hypotheses about the consequences of the plague. *Who produced these documents? When, how and why? What is the evidence of their authenticity, authority and credibility? What else must be discovered in order to construct a useful story*?

Using both sets of documents, students are asked to identify some of the problems involved in making conclusions about a distant time and period, and to examine some of the textbook accounts of the period in light of these problems. *How accurate are these accounts? If you were given the opportunity to edit a section of "the effects of the Black Death," what changes would you make?*

The Topic of Evaluation

Evaluation should be an ongoing process. Each activity calls for both individual work and group discussion. The questions included in this description of the unit form the basis for the evaluation of students' progress in historical thinking. They should focus instruction, but also the assessment. How students contribute to the discussion, complete their individual portions, and contribute to the group effort provide evidence of their understanding. Individual summary essays are a helpful follow-up to these discussions. Not only do they give the teacher an indication of students' progress, but they help students clarify what they have learned. However, all assessment activities need not be in written prose form. In the introductory activity, students' art work can be evaluated by the same criteria that they themselves used to evaluate the historical art: its effectiveness in portraying powerful feelings through appropriate symbolism. Having read and discussed the selections that describe the plague, half the class may be asked to role-play the various commentators and victims, while the other half is assigned to act as critics. While the acting group develops its script, the critics could develop a criteria for judging the performance. Some suggested criteria might be:

- *fidelity to the emotional stance of the character*
- *fidelity to the point of view and position in the community, if known*
- *ability of the actors to convey the different perspectives of the various characters*

If an individual work record is desired, each student might write: 1) a justification for portraying the character as she did; or 2) a critique of the play with reference to the developed criteria.

It is suggested that the unit, however long, conclude with a culminating activity in which students are required to integrate and apply their knowledge of the Black Death to a more current event. This allows students to review and synthesize what they have been learning and to recognize its applicability to their everyday life. It allows the teacher to make an overall judgment of student achievement.

The activity should be carried out over a period of days, allowing for reflection, revision, and further research if appropriate. Suggested criteria might include the following:

- *To what extent do students show that they have integrated different aspects of the unit into their work (e.g., the connection between transmission of the disease with patterns of human behavior, universal versus specific reactions to the threat of a deadly epidemic, etc.)?*
- *Do students cite factual material accurately and completely?*
- *Are comparisons relevant?*
- *Are inferences well-founded?*
- *Are conclusions justified by the evidence?*

At the start of the project, we strongly suggest that the above criteria be modified and amended in consultation with the students in order to form an occasion for learning, as well as a guide for production and self-evaluation.

Culminating Activity: A Recent Plague in India

In this final activity students are required to integrate and apply their knowledge and understanding of current events to the historical events that they have been studying. A set of newspaper accounts of the 1994 outbreak of the plague in India is included. Students are given the assignment to write an account of the plague for the *National Geographic* or *People Magazine*. They must compare the plague in India with the Black Death. They are told that their readers have heard of the plague, but their knowledge is limited to a vague notion of a medieval period of much fear and death. Therefore, they must give background concerning the disease itself, as well as a description of the current events.

The set of clippings is large enough to support a variety of readings. For example, the accounts can be examined in terms of human reactions, official action, medical knowledge, and common knowledge. They can also be used to examine the differing perspectives of those involved. How students use the material depends, to a large extent, on the relative emphasis that was given to the different sections in the unit, the interest of individual students, and, of course, the learning objectives as interpreted by teachers.

Conclusions

Certainly, the ultimate purpose of the study of history is not to train students to become historians. Instead, it is to raise a nation of informed citizenry in which decisions can be made on a rational, informed basis. As the History Standards say: [Among the reasons for better history in the schools] **none are more important to a democratic society than this: Knowledge of history is the precondition of political intelligence.**

But, Bruner adds the caveat:

"True history," without regard to the perspective from which it was written, is at best a mischievous joke and at worst a bid for political hegemony.

Bruner, p.59

It seems that what is more important than a hegemony of a particular culture is the ability to reason wisely, recognizing the universal, and celebrating the differences. This entails the production of thoughtful individuals who are able to make decisions on the basis of an understanding of human endeavors, plans, failures, intentions--perhaps in a better, wiser fashion than is currently the case. In history, this means the accumulation and interpretation of facts, constantly tested and reconsidered through an ever wider body of fact and interpretation, in a collaboration of intellectual and human discourses. In the end, history is a creative, ever changing, search for truth and understanding of the human condition and endeavor.

We end with, again, the words of Jerome Bruner:

> **To understand well what something "means" requires some awareness of the alternative meanings that can be attached to the matter under scrutiny, whether one agrees with them or not.**
>
> Bruner, p. 13

Note: The ideas and philosophy that guide the unit are not dependent upon a specific set of material. Much of the specific material that was used in the unit is readily available, and there are many excellent accounts of the Black Death in Europe. An excellent compendium of primary documents is The Black Death, translated and edited by Rosemary Horrox, 1994, New York: Manchester University Press, distributed in the USA by St. Martin's Press. Information about the plague in Moslem lands are less readily available; however, an excellent account is given by Michael Dols in The Black Death in the Middle East (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977). This gives a very interesting picture of how Muslim society encouraged a different reaction to the plague from that of European Christendom.

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TEACHING AND ASSESSING
THE 'DOING WORLD HISTORY' METHOD
IN THE WORLD HISTORY SURVEY COURSE

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On July 12, 1996, at the Aspen Institute for World History I made a presentation on technology in the world history survey. The way I treat technology is so closely related to the Doing World History Method and the attempt to involve students in the historical process that we spent much of the time that day talking about teaching methods. Assessing students' progress also came up several times in the course of our discussions. When I returned home, the editors were kind enough to request that I write up a description of the Doing World History Method and how I assess students' work. The two are necessarily tied together as periodic assessments lead to improved student work, but for presentation's sake I will discuss them in separate sections.

TEACHING

Given the overwhelming task of teaching all the civilizations in the year survey of world history course, it occurred to me that teaching students how to do world history would give them techniques they could use on any time period and any set of cultures. Offering them a foundation of what the basic work of world history is also seemed fundamental to their developing an understanding for what the course was attempting to do. This may seem obvious, but the reason for studying world history is to learn to think about the past from a cross cultural and comparative perspective.

This conclusion entailed a new problem: Just what does a world historian do? And how do world historians differ from other historians? For an answer, I turned to the professional publications in world history, the *World History Bulletin* and the *Journal of World History*. From my reading in these sources and various classics of world history (Alfred Crosby, *The Colombian Exchange*; Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*; Jerry Bentley, *Old*

World Encounters), I pieced together a rough and ready hand-out that I titled "Doing World History."

After a brief description of the nature of world history and how it differs from other histories, I offer 5 suggestions for doing world history: (1) Big Picture, 2) Diffusion (3) Syncretism, the result of cross-cultural contacts, (4) Comparison and (5) Common Phenomena. These are briefly explained in the hand-out, and I spend a few minutes in class explaining them and offering examples. See Appendix 1 for a copy of the hand-out.

The Big Picture offers a broad overview, stressing chronology of major events and an explanation of their significance. Care needs to be taken here, for the students tend to list far too many events, often having no idea of their importance. I suggest that they choose only four or five events from any single assignment and that they zero in on what the ultimate significance of each event is. I also try to get them to include events from more than one culture on their time lines so they can do comparisons and understand what is going on in different places at any given time.

Often the ultimate significance will not be directly stated in the textbook, and the students will have to think for themselves to come up with an answer. Take the invention of writing as an example. From the textbooks it is easy to acquire the date of about 3400 BCE and to attribute the invention to the Sumerians. The ultimate significance is not in most books, so the students must stretch to come up with an explanation. They usually come up with something to the effect that a tradition across many generations can be built through writing, history can be preserved, and communication with future ages is possible through written materials.

Diffusion involves the spread of natural entities, people and cultural items from one region to others. It is fairly easy to explain this concept by pointing to the contemporary spread of televisions and computers around the world, or to baseball's popularity in countries like Mexico and Japan.

If enough items spread the result is syncretism, the most important result of contacts between cultures. Syncretism is from the Greek root for "mixing," and in a historical context means the mixing of cultures to produce a new civilization. The easiest and most familiar example of this is the United States, and I spend some time discussing with the students some of the various cultural elements found in the U.S.A. We have some fun with the fact that sushi and nachos are both available in the refreshment stands at Dodger Stadium. Another historical example that can be easily explained is the Chinese influence on Japan in high cultural elements during the middle period.

As mentioned above, I think that comparison is an integral part of practicing world history. But what is to be compared? All the societal elements that historians are interested in, from social structure and religion to politics, technology and economics. Students are dependent on what is in the textbook, so to a certain extent the selection of possible comparative elements has been made by the authors. Students can still have some input here, however, because they must select from the plethora of facts that the book offers. The most difficult part of teaching this concept is getting the students to specify what is different and what is similar about the civilizations they are comparing. They have an almost natural proclivity to discuss two civilizations in tandem, merely juxtaposing their comments about them. Many textbooks do it that way, and it is an easy way to escape thinking about the assignment by merely copying or summarizing the text. I label this practice as "juxtaposition," and suggest that they need to explicitly state what is similar and different about the societies. This process involves some translating of the book's material and some analyzing of the facts in a new context of like and different. Other methods for helping students make comparisons include pointing out examples in the book and reading aloud appropriate student papers.

Common phenomena refers to natural or historical events that affected more than a single civilization. That is, two or more civilizations experienced something in common. Climatic change, disease, invasions or common developments all fall into this category. The idea of comparison is also implicit here, for although the events may be shared, the results or the way societies responded to the events will differ. For example, the Mongol invasions turned out differently in China in comparison to Japan. When students write about this concept, they tend to forget to express what is common, so this must be stressed, particularly at the beginning of the term.

The procedure I follow is to have the students keep notebooks in which they place their daily writing assignments. For each chapter, or sometimes even part of a long chapter, I ask them to use Doing World History on the particular civilizations being covered. Sometimes I ask them to apply the method to this week's civilization and last week's. I usually leave it up to the students to decide which technique to use, unless I see a method being overused or underused. Since comparison is such an important element of doing world history, occasionally I will ask them to compare two or more civilizations. Reviewing earlier material is critical to retention, so every few weeks I will ask them to cut through all the chapters from a certain perspective, say technology, using the doing world history methods. There is a danger here that students may neglect the specific historical material and offer only glittering generalities about the assignment. For the notebook assignments, I give no credit for such responses and write a comment on their papers explaining that generalities and specific information have to be balanced. For the review exercises, if the same thing occurs the grade is reduced, and I write a similar note.

By the way, I do have them read primary sources and write journal entries on them, but only occasionally do they use Doing World History on them. I think this is because we have to spend time explaining the texts themselves on a weekly basis. Only when a complete work has been digested are we able to put it in a world historical context and bring Doing World History into play. This seems appropriate as a text's specific cultural context must be understood before it can be discussed in a more general framework.

When class begins, I ask the students to divide into groups to discuss the day's assignment and to produce some kind of chart or graph to illustrate their consensus version of the homework. After about thirty minutes of work, they hang their work on the walls around the room, and one person from each group presents that group's project. Each person is required to speak at least twice during the quarter. Extra credit can be earned by speaking more than twice. When all the groups have made their presentations, I comment on their efforts, stressing doing world history and offering criticism. Creative interpretations and those involving thinking skills come in for special praise. Any egregious errors are gently (I hope) pointed out. Usually I have ten or fifteen minutes left at the end of the 65 minute class period to offer my own interpretation of the material and to present background material for the next assignment.

For testing purposes, every two or three weeks I hold a review exercise, in which each student has to produce a chart or graph about the chapters covered in that period. I allow them to use the textbook and their notebooks, and they have the whole class period to complete their projects. The chart or graph can follow any format they choose--pictorial, written phrases, maps, time lines or whatever they come up with. Some students, although not many, choose to write traditional essays. The criteria are that they cover the material and use the doing world history methods. Often before the exercise they will ask me the answer or what I want, and I explain that history is an art and that they are responsible for finding meaning in the material. I also explain that their work will be judged on how well it utilizes doing world history and on its comprehensiveness and creativity.

At Cal Poly Pomona we offer a three quarter world history survey divided chronologically into Ancient (HST 101), Medieval--Early Modern (HST 102), and Modern (HST 103) units. I use doing world history in all three courses, but I have discovered some interesting differences in the way the various methods can be applied. Contacts in the ancient period are relatively limited, so syncretism is not as important as it is in later periods. Notable exceptions here would be the Late Bronze Age syncretism in the eastern Mediterranean and vicinity and Greece's impact on Rome. Comparison, however, can be easily employed for the various cultures, many of which meet similar challenges and go through similar stages of development. For example, the Bronze Age in China has many parallel developments to those of the Bronze Age in the eastern Mediterranean. I also like to have the students compare the three great civilizations of antiquity, China, India and the Mediterranean, whose emergence I make one of the themes of the course.

In the Medieval--Early Modern period there is greater global integration, and I make the rise of the first and second global civilizations the theme (Islam and Western Europe). Here syncretism plays a much more prominent role, although comparison can easily be brought into play. I begin with Islam which clearly offers many opportunities to explore syncretism, both in its own response to more mature civilizations like the Byzantines and the Persians, and in the way it diffuses through much of Eurasia and Africa and affects the cultures it comes into contact with. The regional influence of China and India also offer good material for employing the concept of syncretism. The influence of China on Islam and western Europe, intensified by the spread of the Mongol Empire, is one of the contributing factors to the rise of western Europe as the second global civilization which the students can treat from any of the several doing world history perspectives.

The Modern Period, differs considerably from the Ancient and Medieval--Early Modern courses because the single theme of modernity unifies the material in a unique way. The Big Picture involves a definition of modernity and how it developed. It is a Common Phenomenon because all civilizations had to deal with it in one way or another. Diffusion and syncretism come into play because each civilization adapts to modernity in different ways. Comparison can be easily brought to bear as the process of modernization in various countries can be compared, or the consequences of decisions regarding modernization can be compared. For example, Japan and China in the 19th century made radically different decisions about modernization that led to all kinds of western interventions and internal problems in China, while Japan's wholesale adoption of modernity allowed it to become a competitor of the West.

Although HST 103 hangs together thematically more easily than HST 101 and HST 102, I find similar problems in the early assignments--students do not understand the method and merely repeat what they find in the textbook. Often they will borrow sentences and phrases, even paragraphs and pages, straight from the book. This is plagiarism, of course. Doing World History requires thinking about the material in the book and recasting the information in the student's own words. For example, many texts treat China and Japan in the modern period in the same chapter, without really comparing them. Students who merely borrow from the book go no further than juxtaposing the book's material on the two civilizations. A true Doing World History paper carefully points out similarities and differences between the two societies. The actual information may be the same, but in the Doing World History process the student actually interprets the material and creates a historical product.

Getting the students to understand and use the methods takes a few weeks. In-class treatment of the assigned readings from a world historical perspective helps reinforce the Doing World History methods. It is necessary to demonstrate through in-class work that whichever method is chosen becomes the focus of the essay. After several practice essays, coupled with criticism, positive examples and group discussions, students soon begin employing the methods more successfully.

I think there is a period in every course when the students have to learn to translate their ordinary discourse into historical discourse. This takes a few weeks, and the instructor has to pay close attention to the process, offering criticism and positive examples of successful uses of the methods. To help the students maintain their focus, I also give them a guide called "Suggestions for Doing World History" which offers specific directions about reading the chapters, taking notes and the process they need to follow in preparing their notebook entries. It is included in Appendix 2.

In particular, Comparison and Big Picture awareness of the course framework become second nature to most of the students. Some of them become creative in their use of the methodology, advancing on Bloom's taxonomy to the interpretation and application levels and actually playing with the material. The groups begin to function more easily and their projects become more creative. Some students ask me if I knew that this was a very effective way of teaching.

As the developer of the method, it's difficult for me to criticize it objectively. From my observations of the students and from their comments, almost all who make an effort learn to use the Doing World History techniques. The students claim the classes are more interesting and they learn more than they would in a traditional lecture class. That is because they have to work through the material themselves and discuss it with their classmates. Getting multiple points of view helps clarify the material and reinforce it. As my students like to point out, the requirement to write about the material, create a group chart or graph and speak about it brings multiple learning styles into play and helps everyone learn. The daily writing assignments help them develop historical writing ability, and the note-taking practice hones their research skills.

As for retention and performance on standardized tests, I have no data except from my students' comments. They claim that in traditional lecture, memorize and test courses, they forget the material immediately after the test. With Doing World History they retain it longer. This makes sense to me from personal experience. If you work through something yourself and understand how all the parts fit together, you will retain more of it. From my own course work, the stuff I remember the most is from papers and presentations I had to produce, not from lectures I heard.

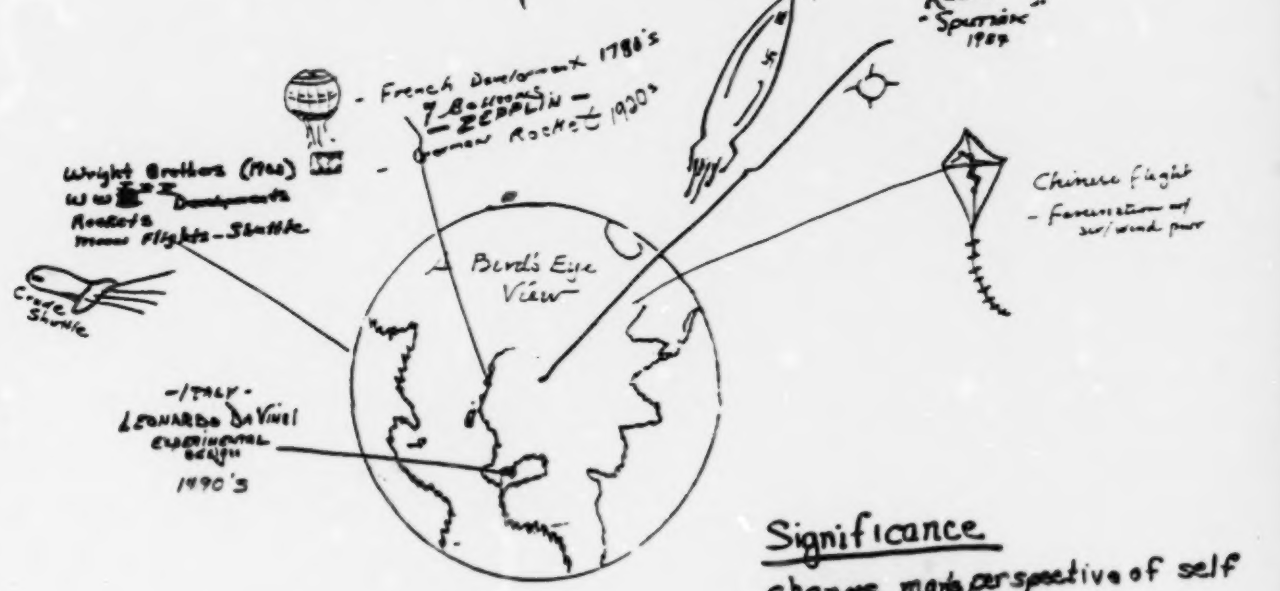
ASSESSING

In assessing the students' efforts, I emphasize their mastery of Doing World History and their attention to participating in the class on a daily basis. In particular I look at the notebook and the review exercises critically to see that doing world history has been applied to the assignment. Notebook entries usually need to be a page or two in length, and I can usually judge at a glance whether the entry is sufficiently long enough to cover the material. If the entry is long enough, I will read over it to see if the student's chosen method was adequately followed. I grade these entries as either acceptable or not, awarding 5 points for each.

For the review exercises, I follow a similar process, although I offer partial credit for not so successful efforts. Each review exercise is worth 20 points, and I use three criteria for judging them, how well doing world history is applied, comprehensiveness and creativity. Like any other historical method, doing world history can be used in more or less effective ways. For example, if comparison is the chosen method, a very few obvious comparisons may be offered, or complex and thorough treatments of two societies could be sketched. My evaluation will reflect the student's choice between those two options. Similarly, if the review assignment covers three chapters, how well the student integrates the whole assignment into the exercise is considered in awarding the grade. If the student makes an effort at creativity, in particular by going beyond the textbook and advancing to higher levels of thinking, I make an upward adjustment in the grade.

At this point let's examine the work that the participants in the Aspen Summer Institute produced. (See "Technology of Flight" picture)

TECHNOLOGY OF FLIGHT


French Development 1780's
Balloons
— ZEPPLIN —
German Rocket 1930's
Wright Brothers (1903)
WW I & II Developments
Rockets
moon Flights - Shuttle
Crude Shuttle
Russia
"Sputnik"
1957
Chinese flight
- Fascination of air/wind pwr
Bird's Eye View
-Italy-
Leonardo DaVinci
experimental design
1490's

INSPIRATION

* BIRDS and Dinosaurs
* GREEK & Roman MYTHOLOGY

NATURE'S POWER

* AIR
* GRAVITY
* WIND

ARTIFICIAL POWER

* NATURAL GAS
* GASOLINE
* LIQUID HYDROGEN

Significance

- changes man's perspective of self & environment
- promotes travel
- spread of man & ideas
- expands world & focus
- change in warfare - conquest & expansion
- communication expands
- migrations of people
- economic integration
- exploration - world & space
- miniaturization of the world
- creation of world history
- new discoveries in science/research

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

First of all, let me say that this group of teachers is more knowledgeable and mature than my students, and they have produced a chart far more sophisticated than anything my students do. You will notice a chronological overview that goes back to Greek and Roman mythology, then skips to Chinese kites and Leonardo DaVinci before moving on to the Wright brothers and twentieth century developments. All without the aid of reference books or advanced warning! On the right hand side is a list labeled "significance," which fits the method called "Big Picture." Since the chart also includes a time line of sorts, I would evaluate it as an excellent presentation using Big Picture. On Bloom's taxonomy, which I also introduce to my students, I would say that the chart exhibits both interpretation and application, two of the higher orders of cognition that I am trying to encourage. My only criticism is that the chart leaves out the experimental glider flights of the 1890's which were precursors to the Wright brothers' flight. The inclusion of that element would have helped depict the technological evolution of flight, one of the main concepts I emphasize in teaching technology in world history. But remember this group had no recourse to books and that omission is merely a factual matter.

In order to insure that students come to class prepared, I sporadically check to see if they have the daily notebook entry in hand. I give 5 points for each check, and I do this four to six times per quarter. Advance warning about this practice is included in the syllabus, but once I begin checking there is usually a dramatic increase in the number of people coming to class with the assignment written out in advance.

Each student is required to speak twice during the quarter, with five points being awarded for each presentation. Usually this involves presenting the group's chart or graph. For many students, this is a very demanding requirement, and I have learned through experience not to be critical of any individual. After all the presentations have been made, I may come back to specific group efforts to offer constructive criticism, but without calling attention to their speaker. For extra credit a student may speak more than twice, but I limit it to ten extra credit points.

For the final exam, I require each group to create a chart or graph that employs doing world history to explain the significance of the course. This is different from their other charts in that it covers all the course material and in that they have to bring it into the final instead of working on it in class. As a result, there is much cooperative work outside the classroom and some very creative material emerges. Once the students have arrived for the exam, each group gets ten minutes to present its interpretation, and we have a contest to see which group presents the best chart. They are also required to bring their daily charts created during the rest of the quarter in case there is a tie on the final chart. The criteria for judging are the same as for the review exercises. The winning group gets 50 points, and the other groups receive points according to how they place in the contest, with two points between each place.

For a given quarter, then, there will be about 20 or so notebook assignments, two or three review exercises, four to six notebook checks, two required speaking assignments and a 50 point final exam. I use a 90% =A, 80% =B grading scale. A conscientious student should have no trouble making a good grade. As many of my students are general education students, some of them choose not to earn high grades, and that is usually determined by their performance on the notebook and review exercises.

Admittedly, there is a large element of subjectivity built into this assessment system. I believe this is inevitable in the light of history's nature as an art. Higher grades will go to those papers and projects that I think best apply Doing World History. My students do not have a problem with that aspect of the grading system. (Most questions arise about the bookkeeping) In fact, when I explain my evaluation of their work they are satisfied and try to improve the next time. The most important consideration is consistency. I teach them Doing World History and require them to work with it throughout the course. The evaluations of their work are based on how well, how thoroughly and how creatively they apply the methods. On the whole, students are happy about what they learn in the course and satisfied with the grades they earn. This is reflected in positive course evaluations and anecdotal comments from the students.

APPENDIX 1. Introduction to Doing World History

Most fundamentally, doing world history involves the study of cross cultural events or phenomena. History may be defined as research into how cultures develop through time. World history is more general than traditional history and emphasizes trends that transcend cultural boundaries. World history stresses the treatment of inter-action between societies. In eras where such inter-action is limited, it compares different patterns of development around the world. Hence, a world history study may involve cultures that actually had contact and influence on one another, or cultures that went through various stages of development with little or no outside influence. Since history is full of this kind of material, the number of possible world history treatments is very large.

World history tends to be more superficial and general than local or national histories. This is not meant in a negative way, but in the sense of a comprehensive view of history. The old cliche of not seeing the forest for the trees applies here. World history looks at the forest in that it searches for the overall, global meaning of history. The major changes over the time the earth has existed, and particularly since the advent of humans, are emphasized and often displayed on time lines. This is a diachronic (through time) approach to world history.

For any particular time period, world historians may view all areas in a synchronic (at the same time) way and compare the way different societies responded to the environment and met basic human needs. In order to simplify this material they look for patterns of government or religion or other cultural and social institutions.

They also stress connections between civilizations and how they influenced one another. There are many variations of cultural influence due to the different kinds of contacts that occurred, but the most common and most important is syncretism. As items and cultural developments diffuse from society to society, changes take place in any given civilization that fundamentally alter it. A mixing of new and old elements takes place that results in a new civilization. This mixing is called "syncretism."

In looking for global events, world historians often find natural or human movements that affect many cultures. These could be climatic developments, diseases, natural disasters or human movements like invasions and migrations. They could include dealing with new technologies and life styles. These events and processes are called "common phenomena."

To simplify and limit these nearly infinite possibilities, I have selected five methods which I believe capture the essence of the world history approaches. I call them "Doing World History." Remember, the methods are meant as focusing devices to help interpret and give meaning to historical events. They are listed below:

1. Big Picture, a time line of the most important events of those under study, accompanied by a written explanation of their ultimate significance.

2. Diffusion or the spread of natural elements, people, artifacts, ideas or other cultural creations from one civilization to others.

3. Syncretism or mixing of elements from two or more cultures that results in a new civilization.

4. Comparison or the pointing out of similarities and differences between two civilizations in terms of their histories, institutions, cultural accomplishments and economies.

5. Common phenomena, the natural or historical events and developments that two or more societies share. Examples could be climate, disease, natural disasters or invasions, shared technologies or other human developments. The basic question here is What is shared?

APPENDIX 2.

Suggestions for Preparing Notebook Entries Using Doing World History

1. Read over the chapter quickly, noting or marking topics that lend themselves to Doing World History methods.
2. Choose one or two of the Doing World History methods that you think appropriate for interpreting the chapter. In your own words write a paragraph or two interpreting the chapter from the chosen perspective.
3. Go back to the pertinent sections of the chapter and re-read them. If you need facts and information to back up your interpretation, take notes. Again, remember to take notes in your own words so you will have to think about the information you are taking down. Avoid repeating the phrases and sentences of the author(s). This is an important part of the learning process.
4. Return to your original version and tinker with it until you are satisfied that you have offered an interpretation of the chapter focusing on one or more of the Doing World History methods.
5. If you chose Big Picture, do you offer a time line and an explanation of the ultimate significance of the selected events? Do you have too many dates and events to remember? Do the chosen events adequately reflect the most important points of the chapter?
6. If you chose diffusion, is the idea of something spreading explicitly stated in your paper? Is this spreading process important to the themes of the chapter?
7. If you chose syncretism, is the idea of mixing cultural elements clearly stated in your paper? Can the reader discern from your explanation who borrowed from whom and with what results? Is the syncretism you mention important in understanding the events discussed in the chapter?
8. If you chose comparison, did you point out similarities and differences between the cultures you discuss? Did you offer significant comparisons, or are they merely superficial and obvious?
9. If you chose common phenomena, are the items mentioned really shared by the two or more civilizations you discuss? In other words, be careful to point out what is shared.
10. Finally, did you go beyond merely repeating or rephrasing what is in the book? Remember, Doing World History means thinking and writing about the past.

THREE APPROACHES TO HISTORICAL ANALYSIS
INTEGRATING HABITS OF MIND INTO THE WORLD HISTORY SURVEY COURSE

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By its very nature, world history must cover a tremendous amount of historical ground. In an attempt to make such a large body of historical information meaningful and analytically manageable, three kinds of worksheets are required of students. All three force students to develop habits of mind crucial to an understanding of the history of the world. Worksheets one and two are generic to any historical analysis, but three, which asks for comparative analysis, is particularly suited for world history. Essentially, the student must work through a given body of facts and content in three ways--through static analysis, through analysis of change and continuity, and through comparative of analysis. Assessment mechanisms attempt to test not only content cognition, but thinking cognition as well. The static analysis worksheets are tested through multiple choice and short answer type questions, and the others through essay type writing.

The first is called a **Society Summary Worksheet** which focuses on a static analysis of individual societies in terms of their political, economic, social and cultural features. The following Society Summary Worksheets are required: Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, China, Nomads, Greece, Rome, Mesoamerica, Japan, Arab, Swahili Africa for the fall quarter; French Revolution, Industrial Revolution, Capitalism, Communism, World War I, World War II, Soviet Union, 20th Century Japan, 20th Century Mexico, 3rd World Experience, are required for the spring quarter.

I. STATIC ANALYSIS

The purpose of this exercise is for you to decide which historical data for each topic, which you have obtained from textbook reading, document reading, and lecture information, which summarized, belong in four analytical categories: political, economic, social and cultural features. These categories do not have hard and fast boundaries and they are best represented in model form of spheres:

Political Economic

Social Cultural

Within each of the spheres there are a number of focus points around which you can organize information about a topic. Political involves governance, laws, power, warfare, leaders; social involves class, gender, and social groupings; economics involves production and exchange systems, money, wealth, capital; culture refers to art and architecture, literature, language, customs and dress, values, education, and ideas. It is important to understand, however, that while some historical information can be classified as strictly political or strictly social, and so forth, a great deal of historical information about an event can fall within more than one of these spheres (as represented by overlapping areas in the diagram above.) For example, the predominant labor system characterizing a given society is certainly an economic feature, but it is also a feature of the social structure as well. You will be provided a worksheet for each of the topics we study like the one attached. Accompanying the worksheet, is a worksheet guideline list to help you remember what kinds of information goes in each category, and an example of how the summary worksheet might look when completed.

Name ____________________

SOCIETY SUMMARY WORKSHEET
GUIDELINES

POLITICAL	Degree of political centralization Extent and nature of bureaucracy Ideological foundations of government Extent of popular participation Levels of state control over industry and trade Method of succession to government Degree and nature of contact between state and society Targets of loyalty [local vs. central governing authorities
ECONOMIC	Role of agriculture in overall economy Role of merchants in society Labor systems [slavery, serfdom, etc.] Role of landlords in society Role of manufacturing Levels of technology Levels of internal and international trade Gender division in economy
SOCIAL	Nature and complexity of social structure Potential for individual and group mobility Functions of family Roles and powers of family members Extent of urbanization Extent of links between elite and masses Population density Nature of leisure pursuits
CULTURAL	Dominant religious and philosophical systems Dominant artistic / literary styles Degree of cultural tolerance within society Degree of interest in foreign cultures and ideas Society's support of cultural pursuits Role of religion and religious figures within society Nature of cultural support of gender and social hierarchies

SOCIETY SUMMARY WORKSHEET 1: MESOPOTAMIA

POLITICAL: Sumeria consisted of small city states ruled by kings who were frequently advised by local councils. In early Mesopotamia there was much fighting between the city states and as a result, no large political unit was founded.
The government helped regulate religion and enforce duties of religion; it also set up a system of justice.
Gradually the city-states were united into an empire.
During the final phase, in the Babylonian empire, Hammurabi devised a written law code

ECONOMIC: Agriculture was the foundation of the Mesopotamian civilization.
Irrigation allowed the Mesopotamian civilization to accumulate surplus which could support the ruling elite and specialists like priests.
Sustained agriculture encouraged larger and more stable communities.
They domesticated plants and food, used slaves on their land and had many inventions such as the wheel, the plow and smelting of bronze.
The invention of writing enabled them to keep records and had a strong influence on the emergence of a merchant class for commercial and trade purposes.

SOCIAL: The Sumerian class system consisted of varying ranks of free men: the ruling family [nobility] was on top, the priestly class was second, the bureaucracy was the third class and then the rest of the free people were commoners. Below that was a slave class.
By the imperial time, the gender division became stronger and men were considered superior to women.
Hammurabi's law code was based on the idea that social standing affected the severity of punishment. On the other hand, the law code required that society protect the weak.

CULTURAL: The Sumerians were polytheistic; their anthropomorphic gods/goddesses were associated with the various forces of nature, who controlled human destiny. The Mesopotamian view of the universe was very negative; they saw the world as frightening and unpredictable.
Religion was a focal point in society as seen by the priests' high status.
Their writing system was used for record keeping, their law code, literature, creating a calendar and religious predictions.
.They produced art in the form of statues and painted frescoes in their temples.

II. CHANGE ANALYSIS

The purpose of this exercise is to practice assessing the relative significance of changes and continuities within a specific society. Using the worksheets filled out for static analysis purposes, pick an area (political, economic, social or cultural) and identify changes over time that occurred in this category. An example of a change analysis worksheet follows. This worksheet analyzes the changes that took place in Russia under the leadership of Stalin. As preparatory to it, fill out the change analysis chart marked for "personal use only".

CHANGE ANALYSIS CHART

*** *NOT TO BE TURNED IN - PERSONAL USE ONLY* ***

SOCIETY: RUSSIA UNDER STALIN

	Basic Features at Beginning of Period	**Basic Features at End of Period**	**Key Changes**	**Key Continuities**
POLITICAL				
ECONOMIC				
SOCIAL				
CULTURAL				

CHANGE ANALYSIS WORKSHEETS

1: RUSSIA UNDER STALIN

Procedure A: Change and Continuity within a Specific Society

In regards to this goal, you will be asked to answer these three questions for each society:

1. Decide in which area [political, economic, social or cultural] the changes you have identified are most pronounced and describe, using one or two succinct but substantive sentences, what they key changes consisted of.

   Although the Russians historically were governed by an authoritarian ruler, the most significant change has been in the political area. When Lenin staged a coup d'état, he instituted a Communist form of government. He argued that Russia would need a 'temporary' leadership group which would guide Russia to the new socialist state, at which point the state would wither away. This group would not be elected, and it would be composed of loyal Russian Communist members.

2. In two or three sentences, describe some of the other changes you see which are of secondary importance but related to the main direction of change you identified in # 1.

   As Stalin took over from Lenin, he implemented even more radical policies in Russia. He believed that there were many people in Russia who were standing in the way of successfully creating a Communist society. Therefore, he forced the majority of rural people onto communes. Communes were not only places of work, but also enforced residential locations and all social, economic and political decisions were made by the leaders of the communes. In the urban areas, workers were allotted housing and jobs and their lives were presided over by comparable political authorities.

3. Decide in which area [political, economic, social or cultural] the continuities you have identified are most pronounced and describe, using one or two succinct but substantive sentences, what these key continuities consisted of.

   It is true that massive changes took place under the Communist government. However, Lenin and Stalin did retain many elements of the traditional Russia society. For instance, Lenin created the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was based largely on the Russian Empire. In addition, the ethnic bias towards Slavic people continued under the Communists through the present time.

III. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Societies can also be compared to each other as well as observing changes through time. The comparative analysis can be cross-cultural at the same time, or by similar events or themes geographically, chronologically or analytically. That is, one might compare the French Revolution as it affected different parts of the world, or one might compare similar revolutions to the French Revolution chronologically or geographically. Likewise, it is possible to compare social causes or effects cross-culturally. Guidelines for comparative analysis, and two kinds of comparative analysis worksheets--thematic and societal-- follow.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

The purpose of this exercise is twofold. The first goal is to encourage you to observe the similarities and differences between two societies in a way that will enable you to make coherent historical comparisons. The second goal is to improve your ability to effectively express your analysis in writing a basic comparative paragraph or short essay answer. These worksheets will form the basis for most of the short essay questions on your exams. In total their combined score will count for 34% of your final grade.

In regards to the first goal, you will be asked to answer these three questions for each of the 5 Comparative Analysis Exercises:

1. What is the broadest generalization you can make about the similarities and differences that you see between political patterns in these two societies?

2. What two narrower generalizations could you formulate which would offer additional detail but also support your initial generalization?

3. What specific information can you draw from you Society Summary Worksheets to support your generalizations?

When you have completed these questions, read over your generalizations and the supporting evidence you have identified and ask yourself if your analysis makes sense. Make adjustments and revisions as necessary. This part of the exercise must be turned in for credit.

In reference to the second goal, as you get ready for you examination on this part of the coursework, use your answers for the above three questions as the outline for a short essay answer. You should be able to craft a paragraph which includes the following components arranged in the following order:

1. A topic sentence which expresses the idea in your main generalization;

2. One or two more sentences which communicate your subsidiary generalizations;

3. Two or three sentences presenting the evidence for your generalizations;

4. A concluding sentence which restates your initial generalization.

Read over your paragraph to see if it makes sense; edit it to improve the grammar and syntax.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS WORKSHEET

1: MESOPOTAMIA VS. EGYPT

1. What is the broadest generalization you can make about the similarities and differences that you see between political patterns in these two societies?

   A broad generalization about Mesopotamia & Egypt is that they both created powerful civilizations out of societies.

   A difference is that due to geography and religion, Egypt became a politically united and fairly stable civilization, while Mesopotamia saw the development of city-states, which had common elements of the civilization, but were structured into competing city-states.

2. What two narrower generalizations could you formulate which would offer additional detail but also support your initial generalization?

   A narrower generalization is that in Egypt, the pharaoh was politically and religiously all powerful and he retained his absolute power by an alliance with the priests and nobles.

   In Mesopotamia, there were a series of rulers, who were in alliance with the rulers, but until the Babylonians, none of them were able to become all powerful.

   Another narrower generalization of a difference is that since the Egyptian pharaoh was seen as semi-divine, the religious aspects of life took on greater importance politically and socially than they did in Mesopotamia.

3. What specific information can you draw from you Society Summary Worksheets to support your generalizations?

   Geography played a major part in the unity or disunity of each of these civilizations. In that the Nile River was the focus of the civilization and their geographical isolation kept others out. In contrast, the geography of Mesopotamia led to city-state structures and constant warfare and invasion.

   The connection of a strong centralized state and religious importance of the pharaoh meant that the Egyptians used much of their resources and energy to build pyramids, tombs and other political-religious monuments while in the more decentralized city-states, the literary tradition began to develop earlier on.

SEMINAR 2:

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF IMPERALISM

For this seminar students have been assigned to one of five areas which were greatly impacted by imperialism:

Africa India Egypt China Japan

The students will be given handouts about imperialism in his/her specific region. The information from the handouts, as well as the relevant parts of chapter 30, will provide the students with background material for a discussion of imperialism.

In class, each region's representatives will make a report to the class on the nature of imperialism in their assigned area, giving a general historical overview of the process of imperialism for the region as well as the long term impact of imperialism on the society. Participation in the discussion will count towards the grade for this seminar activity.

In addition, all students must turn in a two page paper which summarizes their findings about imperialism in their assigned region and the nature of imperialism in general. The paper should be based on research from the textbook and handout information, but it can include information garnered from the seminar activity itself.

Some possible points of departure would be:
What elements of imperialism were similar across all five regions?
What elements of imperialism were different across all five regions?
How did different regions respond to the 'threat' of modernization?
Which regions were in favor of modernizing vs. which regions opposed it?

CULTIVATING HABITS OF INCLUSIVENESS
"AND NOW FOR SOMETHING COMPLETELY DIFFERENT"

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As a high school teacher in the 1970's, I was proud of myself for changing my world history classes beyond recognition. I altered their European orientation by "including"--as we then described it, despite its paternalistic implications--units on Africa, the Americas, and Asia. You can imagine the shock when I discovered that despite these efforts, I still had missed 51% of the world's population. This gender blindness remains the most frightening aspect of my training and of my early research and teaching: that I could have simply overlook so many millions of people throughout so much time and across so much space. Women are essential to every aspect of our experience and yet somehow have been made invisible.

It was not just the omission of women that became significant, but also the skewing of men's history. Men appeared unsexed and neutered as the "universal" for all human beings. The end result was a past less rich and less nuanced, only half discovered and half told. It we are to remedy this lack, how should we tell the history of men and women? What can we do to gender the world history survey?

First, one must remember that even more than other surveys, any course in world history will reflect an endless series of impossible choices--clearly subjective choices--made by instructors, whether they teach high school, college, or graduate classes. Second, rarely will a world history course follow a simple linear narrative. Even the "marching civilizations across time" approach doubles back on itself as it describes first one cultural region and then another.

My course reflects, but does not follow, the traditional time breaks. In fact, I try to force myself and my students out of the familiar by using a big, open-ended "timeless" question as the frame for the entire course. I ask, and students answer, only one question. This year, for example, it was: What causes order in societies and what causes disorder? No culture or time period is favored with such a question. Instead, everyone's history becomes potential example, and traditional causal explanations like economic, social, and cultural factors become organizational devices rather than fixed answers.

Another reason for breaking old patterns is my commitment to teach about women and men. I do not believe that the standard narrative organization for world, European, or U.S. history makes that possible. Even the best intentioned "add women and stir," or "don't stir" (depending on your perspective), highlights only a few exemplars and leaves half of humanity isolated in some apparently peripheral section of the course that everyone can see "will not be on the exam." And, most importantly, the old frameworks and periodizations leave history, and the men of that history, just as they have always been. No, in order to gender the survey one must rethink history in terms of actions, interactions, and reactions, by women and men, between women and men, by women, and by men.

As a result, I set three criteria for myself, that I keep in mind as I write my lectures and plan discussions, that influence the readings and films I choose, and that determine the oral and written assignments I require. My course must illustrate: 1) joint actions by women and men in familiar events; 2) interactions between men and women; 3) reactions by women and by men as separate experiences reflecting different perspectives.

To show how I use these self-imposed rules, I offer a range of examples from my course "World History Since 1500." In every class period to indicate that the familiar events of world history consist of joint actions by men and women, I "sex the universal" in my lectures. That is, instead of referring to "Chinese peasants" I say "peasant women and men." Instead of "slaveowners" I say "women and men slaveowners." Student adopt this kind of phrasing without comment and apparently without realizing how differently it sounds.

The readings I assign fulfill one or more of my requirements. In the first unit on 17th and 18th century China, students read *Emperor of China: Self-Portrait of K'ang-Hsi* (1988), the thoughts of a powerful Qing emperor as constructed by Jonathan Spence. It is, very obviously, the reactions, the separate experiences, and the perceptions of a man. In contrast, *The Death of Woman Wang* (also by Spence, 1979) offers a sense of women's and men's lives in rural China during the same time period both as they relate to each other (Woman Wang is murdered by her husband) and as they exist as members of clans and of the village, as joint actors in familiar events. In our discussion of the "effectiveness of the imperial government in maintaining order", students comment on the differences in men's and women's experiences at K'ang-Hsi's court and in the isolated rural community. Without an impassioned speech on my part, they discover elite men's political power and women's vulnerability across class and culture.

The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave, Related by Herself (edited by Moira Ferguson, 1993) presents a picture of enslavement in the early 19th century, but from a woman's perspective. Assigned books for the 20th century also follow my criteria. Zareer Masani, the creator of *Tales of the Raj* (originally a radio series, 1988), made a concerted effort to include both women's and men's accounts of life in the India of the 1930s and 40s. Journalist Jane Kramer did the same in *Unsettling Europe* (1990), her account of immigrant families in 1970s Europe. *Bananas, Beaches & Bases* by Cynthia Enloe (1990) gives a clearly feminist perspective on contemporary international affairs.

Each of the three films I show to the class vividly demonstrates interactions between women and men. All are international prize winners with strong heroes and heroines. Nine in "Red Sorghum" (about a remote rural winery in 1930's China) and Ma Tine in "Sugar Cane Alley" (about Martinique in the same time period) are the principal influences in the lives of the young boys whose stories are portrayed. "Salaam Bombay" offers at least six different plots, each rich in the survival tactics of young boys and girls and of their male and female elders.

Lastly, I mold the oral and written assignments to fit my three criteria. I formulate propositions to debate that require students to think about men *and* women as historical agents; for example, "Men and women choose order over rights." A prepared essay at the end of the term asks students to consider: women and men as joint actors in familiar events, the interactions between women and men, and women's and men's separate experiences and perceptions. I give them a choice of autobiographies by contemporary women political activists and tell them to analyze "the roles women and men played in causing order or disorder." Two books are by Latin Americans, Domitila Barrios de Chungara's *Let Me Speak! Testimony of Domitila, a Woman of the Bolivian Mines* (1979) and *I...Rigoberta Menchu-An Indian Woman in Guatemala* edited by Elisabeth Burgos-Debray (1985); two are accounts of black and colored opposition to apartheid, Ellen Kuzwayo's *Call Me Woman* (1985) and *A Life's Mosaic: The Autobiography of Phyllis Ntantala* (1993); one is Le Ly Hayslips's *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places: A Vietnamese Woman's Journey From War to Peace* (1993), about the Vietnam War, and the last is

Chen Xuezhao's *Surviving the Storm: A Memoir* (1991) about events in China from the 1930's to the present.

Clearly, there is ample material available. For me, the difficulty was not selecting new readings, rather it was changing goals and priorities. I gave up the idea that there was a fixed body of information that had to be covered. I decided that vivid encounters with a few cultures were more important than learning names and dates for many cultures. I thought about what I do as an historian and what of that experience I wanted my students to understand. The ability to imagine and think about history as both joint and separate enterprises by men and women is a key part of what I must pass on, not because I am a feminist, but because that's the way it happened.

[Editors Note: Other books of interest can be found in the Aspen World History Handbook I]

PART THREE: Lessons

Gender (Africa)	Gendering World History: Women and Slavery on the African Continent
(Argentina)	Women Activists and Reform at the Turn-of-the Century: Examples from Arkansas and Argentina
(Europe)	16th Century Women: A Film and Documentary View
Expansion (Russia)	Russian Expansion in Asia
Revolution (Latin America)	Latin America and the Age of Democratic Revolutions
Imperialism (Africa)	Map Puzzle of Africa

GENERING WORLD HISTORY

WOMEN AND SLAVERY ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT

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Linkage: This presentation fits into the study of the Atlantic slave trade and the development of the plantation economic complex. However, the lesson attempts to abandon the Eurocentric view of the historical experience and more closely examines the African dimensions of the slave trade. Additionally, in answering the call for greater emphasis on bringing women into history, students will pay particular attention to the historical experience of African women and the slave trade.

Background Information: Women and Slavery in Africa by Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, eds. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983; Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa by Paul E. Lovejoy, Cambridge University Press, 1983; The Ideology of Slavery in Africa by Paul Lovejoy, Sage Publications, 1981; Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades by Patrick Manning, Cambridge: The African Studies Center, 1990 and Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730-1830 by Joseph Miller, University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.

Student Level: College level or High School AP students.

Approximate Teaching Time: 50 Minute Class (2)

Materials: Two articles on women and slavery listed in the bibliography. Text used at the Air Force Academy for teaching world history: Stravrianos, A Global History Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995 edition. Others sources might include slides, overheads and video.

Objectives: Students will better understand the nature and involvement of women in the African slave trade. In particular, the students will read about elite women from Senegal and Dahomey who were major players in the slave trade and often owned slaves themselves. Students will begin to grasp the complex issues of race, gender and class. In addition, students should be encouraged to examine strategies employed by African women to control their fate within African court systems which employed female slaves. The centrality of women's roles in African family life and in agriculture should be appreciated for African males did not want to sell young females into the Atlantic trade system for productive and reproductive reasons.

Methods: Fifteen minute lecture by instructor on the historical background and demographics of the European slave trade in Africa followed by readings and class discussion.

Presentation:

Day 1: Handout the outline below and go through each slide (approximate time 15-20 minutes of lecture). Students should be encouraged to ask questions and engage with the material. Then handout the two articles for discussion and introduce the general theme of women and slavery.

Day 2: Divide the class into two groups and have them discuss one of the articles (each). A group representative should summarize the information and present their assigned article to the class. Major points could be placed on the blackboard.

Assessment: Each student will write a short two page essay discussing gender issues and slavery in Africa. Students should use lecture material, outside sources and information gained from the class discussion. Possible questions that they might use for discussion or their paper follow. (You may wish to include others.)

a. Historians argue the differences in African slavery versus chattel slavery. What are some of the differences that come out in these two articles?

b. In the article "The *Signares* of Saint-Louis and Goree" by George Brooks, how are the traditional images of Euro-African relations challenged?

c. What aspects of Reverand John Lindsay's account of African women might challenge the idea that European's were racist? Explain why many historians argue that slavery was primarily an economic system. What European ideas of sexism are portrayed in the article on *Signares*?

d. What does the article on Dahomey tell us about male/female relationships in West Africa? Dahomey was perhaps the wealthiest slave state in Africa. However, Philip Curtin and others argue that mostly male slaves were sold to Europeans. What evidence is there to substantiate this?

e. What impact does slavery have on the political, economic and social life of African women and their families?

f. In what ways were women (slave and free) able to manipulate their positions within African society to gain greater social status and/or wealth?

g. In Dahomean society, women had great religious power. Describe their religious roles and the impact on male/female relationships?

h. Surprisingly, certain women in Dahomey were also warriors and were given the important task of protecting the state. In what ways were women slaves incorporated into the palace organization?

Habits of the Mind Peculiar to World History:

1. Synthesis (rather than analysis), connection and comparisons rather than reductionism-broader views of any given topic.

2. Diversity in modes of thought rather than "cognitive imperialism" ie dominance of scientific and rational, make room for the intuitive, irrational, for the varied human experience. Multiple perspectives. Interdisciplinary.

3. Random rather than linear thinking (avoiding traps like "progress", "backward") gleaned from large canvases of time and space, or chronology which both cuts across time and is bounded by time.

4. Externally as well as internally generated change-emphasis on interaction and diffusion-of human agency as well as factors beyond human control.

5. Peculiarities as well as commonalities of human experience.

Instructor Lecture Materials:

Below is one of USAFA's traditional lessons on slavery and the plantation system. It includes lesson objectives, geography, questions for thought and a timeline. Following the lesson is a set of organizational slides that I have used to lead off my discussion of the subject. I would spend Day 1 going over this material and then use Day 2 to introduce the readings on women and slavery.

LESSON: EUROPEAN EXPANSION AND THE RISE OF A SLAVE-BASED ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION

Readings: **Stavrianos** 529-532

Purpose:

The focus of this lesson is on the network of institutions surrounding slave-based plantations in the Atlantic basin -- "the Plantation Complex." While the U.S. had a place in the Plantation Complex, its role was relatively small. Indeed, only 5 percent of the slaves destined for the New World went to the United States. Instead, this lesson will attempt to reach a broader perspective by examining the Plantation Complex's origins in Europe and Africa, the transition of the Plantation Complex to the New World, the slave trade from Africa, the Plantation Complex at its apogee and in revolution and decline, and finally, the legacy of the Plantation Complex.

There were two key components in the origins of the Plantation Complex: slavery and sugar cane. Slavery has been common throughout history. The Mesopotamian civilization was built partly by slave labor. Periclean Athens enslaved upwards of 20 percent of its population. Similarly, sugar has a long history. Originally transported to the Middle East from Southeast Asia in pre-history, sugar cane plantations came to play a key role in the Mediterranean economy by the Middle Ages. As European consumption of sugar outpaced production by 800 A.D., Iberian and Italian entrepreneurs looked to the slave markets of Eastern Europe to supply their sugar plantations with slave laborers. However, the Black Death and later, the Moslem conquest of Constantinople in 1453 closed the Eastern European slave markets to western Europeans. As a result, the Iberians turned to the centuries old Sub-Saharan slave trade for a source of sugar-plantation labor.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Iberians transported their slave-based sugar cane plantations from the Mediterranean to the New World. First, the Portuguese and the Spanish moved the plantation economy to the Atlantic islands off the western coast of Africa, close to their labor supply. When demand for sugar again outstripped supply, the Portuguese transplanted sugar cane plantations to Brazil, and in the process, facilitated the diffusion of European thought and economics to the New World. Originally, Portuguese planters hoped to use Amerindians as a forced-labor pool for their new plantations. However, the epidemiological disaster of the Colombian exchange, which in some areas decimated upwards of 99 percent of the population, forced them to look back to Africa as the source of Plantation based labor. The result was the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

The Transatlantic Slave Trade allows historians to examine both the greatest human migration in history until the nineteenth century and the history of Africa in the pre-Colonial Period. From the first large-scale importation of Africans to Brazil in 1503, to abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the middle of the nineteenth century, approximately 12 million Africans were transported against their will across the Atlantic. Historians have tried to answer the question: Why were Africans enslaved? In discussing that question, they have come to examine more closely the history of Africa. One school of historians have argued that Africans were enslaved primarily for economic reasons, not racial reasons, and that some African societies willingly participated in the slave trade.

Although Africans actively participated in the slave trade, that does not relieve Europeans of the responsibility for fostering the exploitative Plantation Complex in the New World, nor does it relieve any of the participants from responsibility for the brutality it entailed. By 1700, that complex had reached its apogee, extending outward from Brazil into the French, English, and Spanish Caribbean. The present day vacation destinations of Jamaica, Barbados, and Puerto Rico each had their origins as sugar cane producing islands. Yet, within 100 years of reaching its apogee, the Plantation Complex was racked by the political ramifications of the American and French Revolutions. By the end of the nineteenth century, after the bloody slave rebellion on Saint Dominique (Haiti) and peaceful emancipation in the British West Indies, Brazil, and Cuba, slavery was abolished in the New World, bringing an end to the Plantation Complex.

The Plantation Complex's legacy is still with us today. Collectively, the Plantation Complex was a major agent of historical change which led to the diffusion of peoples, cultures, technologies, plants, animals, and diseases to create a more global and homogenous world culture. Our modern concerns with "global" problems of the "global village" are part of the consequences of the diffusion of the Plantation Complex.

Geography:

Using an atlas locate the following places:

Angola, The West Indies, Caribbean Sea, St. Dominique, Brazil, Pernambuco, São Tomé, Gulf of Guinea, Jamaica, Senegal, and Dahomey

Terms:

Chattel Slavery

Economic System of Slavery

Triangular Trade

Middle Passage

Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade

British Anti-slavery Squadron

Questions for Thought:

1. Was African slavery and the slave trade forced on Africa by outsiders, or was it an outgrowth of indigenous institutions?

2. Why did Europeans buy and sell Africans for over four centuries? What was the influence of the Barbados planters?

3. What were the major difficulties in stopping the European slave trade in the eighteenth century? While the slave trade was being stamped out on the west coast of Africa, it continued to flourish in which areas? Who conducted the trade in these areas?

Timeline:

Place these key events on a timeline below. Remember to compare this with other timelines, which will give you a good idea of events occurring outside of Europe during this period.

1. First Shipment of Slaves to the New World 2. Establishment of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade 3. Abolition of Slavery in the British Empire 4.The United States Abolishes Slavery as an Institution

(Timeline)

The African Slave Trade

Fact and Fable

Slavery in Africa

- Slavery in Africa, as elsewhere, is as old as civilization

    Egypt, Arabs, and Sudanese

- Chattel slavery rare w/in African societies

- Serfdom, vassalship, “domestic slavery” more common

    - Conquered peoples absorbed into victors’ societies in lower status with fewer rights

Ancient Kingdoms And Slavery

- Egypt, Kush, Meroe and Axum most ancient

- Ghana, Mali and Songhay, 11th-16th Century

- Central Africa, Kingdom of the Kongo

- East Africa, Swahili City-States

- Southern Africa, Great Zimbabwe

Three Types of Slavery

- Occidental, Oriental, and African trade

- Occidental trade begins with Portuguese but important years were from 1650-1850

- Oriental trade began with the rise of Islam in the seventh century

- African slave trade has its peak after 1850, internal mode of production but halted by Europeans in the years 1890-1905

The Rise of the European Slave Trade

- The Crusades

- Portuguese and Spanish Explorations

- Sugar Production Off Coast of West Africa

- New World Discoveries and Production

    - Extinction of Indigenes

    - Economic Advantages of Using Africans

        - Supply high; Prices low

Sources of African Slaves

- Captives, men and women (age 15-30)
    - Warfare, Raids, Kidnapping
- Court Proceedings
- Witchcraft
- Tribute
- Self-Enslavement

Effects of the Slave Trade on African Populations

- Estimate 10 million lost
    - Sexual inbalances: mostly men taken 2:1
- High mortality rates
- Population decline
- Polygyny and male dominance reinforced
- Stress to African family life and culture

The Economics of Slavery

- Profitable for Africans
    - African elites gain power and status
    - Money economy: currency cowrie shells, etc
    - New wealth used to buy guns, cloth, liquor, etc
    - 1/3 Africans taken remain in Africa
    - Increase in all trading activities
- Slave Mode of Production
    - Slaves later produce goods in Africa

The World and Africa

Slavery linked to modern changes: industrialization, rise of capitalism, the scientific revolution, notions of race and nationalism, migrations, and changing roles of men, women, and children.

- Africans contribute labor, religion, culture, diverse populations, agricultural knowledge and much more.

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WOMEN ACTIVISTS AND REFORM AT THE TURN-OF-THE CENTURY: EXAMPLES FROM ARKANSAS AND ARGENTINA

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Brief Synopsis: This paper examines aspects of the rise of women's movements during the late 1800s- early 1900s in Arkansas and Argentina. More specifically, it explores some of the influences that precipitated activism; it looks at what women sought to achieve, how they tried to accomplish their goals and at what their efforts produced. The focus of these comments is on moderate, middle to upper class women. The paper is intended to illustrate problems and to show the process of change by drawing on examples from these cultures and the times. It should not be taken as a comprehensive examination of the women's movement in either society.

Linkage: Chronologically, this presentation fits into the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. An appropriate context is to include it as part of a discussion of liberal-democratic movements. It is also a way to look at social reform and at women's history in a comparative setting.

Background: Little, Cynthia Jeffress. "Education, philanthropy, and feminism: components of Argentine womanhood, 1869-1926." In *Latin American Women, Historical Perspectives*, ed. Asuncion Lavrin, 235-253. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978; Ross, Frances Mitchell. "The

New Woman as Club Woman and Social Activist in Turn-of-the-Century Arkansas." *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* Vol. L No. 4 (Winter 1991): 317-351.

Student Level: The University of Arkansas at Little Rock is a four year school with a student body of around 11,000 and is part of the University of Arkansas system. It is an urban institution and draws the largest part of its enrollment from central Arkansas although it also has students from other parts of Arkansas, from other states, and it has international students as well. World History is a 6 hour core course that is required for graduation. Students in the course have a wide range of ability levels.

Approximate teaching time: 30-40 minutes

Materials: Banner, Lois. *Women in Modern America: A Brief History.* San Diego:Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1984, is a good short history that offers an overview of the period under discussion; for a broad perspective on the issues, see *The New York Times*; for Arkansas state coverage, see *The Arkansas Gazette* and *The Arkansas Democrat.* State or local papers from other regions could be substituted in order to examine the approach to the issues in these locales. Videos, such as Riley, Jocelyn, prod. "Votes for Women?! The 1913 U.S. Senate Testimony," could be considered. This 17 minute video is distributed by Her Own Words Videos, Madison, Wisconsin. Miller, Francesca. *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice.* Hanover:University Press of New England, 1991, is recommended as a text for Latin American women.

Objectives: Students should gain some insight into social movements; they should be able to compare and contrast experiences by looking at different cultural settings; they should gain some knowledge of women's history in a transnational context. Students should also become aware of the relationship between World War I and the acquisition of rights by women.

Methods: Lecture, videos, papers and student oral presentations would all be appropriate. Students might also compare the treatment given to similar events in accounts of different newspapers. Projects that would require students to develop presentations that show international links and influences in the women's movement could be considered.

Assessment: Though examinations, papers or other projects, students should be able to explain issues of cause and effect; they should develop some sense of comparative issues in women's and social history within a chronological and transnational context.

Women Activists and Reform at the Turn of the Century:

Examples from Arkansas and Argentina

Much has been written about the women's movement at the turn-of-the-century, a time when women actively sought to bring about political and social change. During this age of reform, women achieved significant successes when they worked through organizations to accomplish their goals. The results of their efforts altered the relationship between women and the public arena, giving women voice and opportunity they had not had before. These experiences were not limited just to western industrial nations. They included, of course, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany, but also Austria, Russia, India, Latin American countries and more. Who were these female activists and what, if anything, did they have in common? What factors contributed to the rise of the women's movement? What did women want and how did they work to achieve their goals? These are among the questions this presentation will address by focusing on aspects of the women's movement in two areas: Arkansas and Argentina.

After a brief overview of some nineteenth century developments in the United States, a look at the Arkansas experience will follow first. Around the turn-of-the-century, several important themes came together that gave new life to women's activism in this country. Key factors included the Progressive Movement with its emphasis on reform; a widespread perception that the home faced serious new threats; and the long standing effort by women to achieve broader rights.

With regard to the home, in the United States a "domestic ideology" had developed in the 1800s that centered on middle class women. It stressed a close bond between woman, child and home. Woman, according to this ideology was moral and virtuous. She was the proper guardian of the domestic world, the angel of the private sphere. By the turn of the century, however, the safety of this domestic world seemed threatened by urbanization, industrialization, consumerism and other "evils" of the age. Responding to these challenges, women mounted campaigns to make the world safe for the home. The women who rallied to these causes were most often urban, middle class and educated.[1]

Lack of rights had provoked protests from women through out the century.

Middle class women, influenced by liberal-democratic traditions and by other reform movements, had long been active in attempts to obtain and broaden their own rights and opportunities. They viewed these as essential if they were to become full players in society. To them, property rights, voting rights, education and more were primary goals. These two themes, threats to the home and lack of rights, both reinforced by progressive values, combined to spark a surge of female activism at the turn-of-the-century. Organization was the key to women's effectiveness. While women had long participated in church societies, charitable groups, and other voluntary associations, turn-of-the-century organizations were larger and more effective than ever before.[2]

Arkansas women followed the same course that their sisters elsewhere did and through organized effort -- church groups, clubs, societies, associations --they worked to achieve their goals. For the Arkansas segment of this discussion, the Arkansas Federation of Women's Clubs will be the focus. The Federation, comprised of white, middle class women, was established in 1897 with twenty-six affiliate groups. About 300 women attended the first meeting. The state Federation modeled itself and its programs after the national organization, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, which had formed seven years earlier. Like the General Federation, the Arkansas Federation was an umbrella group that brought together club women from throughout the state. Clubs were socially acceptable, moderate in tactics and tended to avoid direct confrontation.[3]

The Arkansas Federation did have growing pains, however. The diversity in membership sometimes caused dissention to develop since individual club missions varied and could clash at the state level. Further, the Federation faced times when member's enthusiasm for public activism sagged, the more conservative members holding out for literary work. Anti-club propaganda also surfaced to dampen initiative. Club leaders worked to overcome these problems. Frances Marion Hanger, Arkansas Federation vice president in 1898, had this to say to critics of club women. To those who charged that clubs threatened family life and left the club woman's husband "a living example and wretched embodiment of perforated hosiery, buttonless raiment, an eater of soggy bread and burnt meat, and a sojourner in a forsaken, forlorn dwelling," Hanger replied that "a woman [who] possesses a husband, a family and a club is no sign that a three-horned domestic, social and civic dilemma has been created." She argued that "The Women's Club is an enthusiastic exponent of ... [woman's] desire 'to move on,' not singly, but in battalions." Hanger and other leaders worked to rekindle enthusiasm for an active program and to recruit new membership for the Federation. By 1917 the state Federation listed 190 club memberships with nearly 9,000 members among them.[4]

Not overtly women's rights, the Federation endorsed measures that it believed would safeguard the home, improve the community, and protect the interests of children and women. In doing so, however, the Federation also found itself supporting women's rights issues. Its broad based agenda included attention to domestic issues, such as improved nutrition, pure food, consumer education, and child health. These concerns, however, led the Federation to tackle community issues like public health, intemperance and prostitution, child welfare, public education, female and child labor. Leaders pushed the group to go further and, for example, to support opportunities for women to enter the legal profession, because while women could graduate from law school, they were prohibited by law from engaging in its practice. Leaders pressed for women's property rights, for suffrage, and for membership for women on public boards and commissions. The conditions that they challenged and the solutions they proposed bridged the two themes of home and rights and thrust the Federation into the mainstream of progressive reform and the women's movement.[5]

As this discussion has indicated, while the Federation moved cautiously toward women's rights and in its early years even denied interest in them, at the same time it pursued a course that called for greater public involvement for women. Suffrage provides a case in point. As early as 1899, the Federation memorialized the state legislature to permit women to vote in school elections. To the women, schools were natural extensions of their domestic, child-oriented sphere and places where they should have a voice. The campaign for school suffrage continued over the next years, but without success, and suffrage on a broader level had little support from the Federation for over a decade.[6]

In 1915 the Federation unequivocally endorsed woman suffrage. What had happened? By that time, the General Federation had come out in favor of suffrage. Further, the suffrage movement had gained momentum nationally, regionally and in the state. Additionally, a vocal core of the Federation's membership, as well as its leadership, had grown increasingly pro-suffrage and nudged the more conservative members to adopt the concept. To sway its members, Federation leaders raised two points, both of which were also argued in the national suffrage effort: the vote would be a way for women to solve society's problems and protect the home and it was also a matter of justice and right. All of this finally led the Arkansas organization to throw its support behind the effort. Suffrage proponent, Frances Marion Hanger, proudly wrote in her history of the Federation, that delegates to the 1915 state convention "endorsed Woman's Suffrage without a dissenting vote." The Federation's support contributed to state wide victory for suffrage forces in 1917, when the legislature enacted a law to provide woman suffrage in primary elections, three years before the Nineteenth Amendment to the

United States Constitution was ratified. On the heels of the suffrage vote, lawmakers also permitted women to practice law, making 1917 a banner year for reformers.[7]

The rise of female activism and reform in Arkansas, as seen through the Federation, closely paralleled the story of moderate club women elsewhere in the nation. Home and community improvement concerns ranked high on the agenda, with rights issues lagging behind. While Arkansas clubwomen were slow to endorse suffrage, when the General and the State Federations declared their support, this produced the momentum that helped to lead to a successful outcome for voting rights in the state. Further, the final suffrage vote in Arkansas and the arguments that led to it illustrate how themes that were important in the national women's movement also worked at the state level.

Scholars of the women's movement in Latin America have identified several factors that influenced the emergence of turn-of-the-century activism in Argentina. Through the 19th and early 20th centuries, important forces included public charity, public education, women's organizations and socialism. While women identified numerous important issues, a key target for reform was the Argentine Civil Code.

The centrality of government involvement in the Argentine experience is a factor that distinguishes it from North America. In the 1800s, the government turned attention to charitable work when it created the Society of Beneficience. The Society, formed in the 1820s by the minister of goverment, was set up to establish and administer public elementary education for girls and to reorganize an orphanage for girls. The thirteen women who were initially appointed to run the Society represented the elite, and those women selected the Society's membership. Over the years, Society responsibilities expanded to other areas, although after 1876 it lost administrative responsibilities for public schools. The Society did become a model for later nineteenth century charitable associations and it survived until the Peron government dissolved it in 1948. These associations provided acceptable ways for unemployed, educated women in Argentina to involve themselves in community work.[8]

By the second half of the nineteenth century pressures for change in female education emerged. Urban, married, middle class women were vocal on the topic but the real thrust came from the government. Government officials, influenced by educational development and its apparent link to economic growth in the United States, argued that Argentina, too, would prosper if its people did. Domingo F. Sarmiento, prominent for his work in education and president of Argentina from 1868-74, was especially important. He envisioned coeducational schools that would be free, public and secular. Influenced by contact with United States educators, Sarmiento hired teachers from North America, borrowed North American plans and methods and insisted that women be educated in order to properly raise their children to be productive citizens. To Sarmiento, female education should stress domestic management with special attention to matters like wise purchasing, food preservation and child care. Schools echoed the same themes in later decades, encouraging, for example, support for the annual Mother's Club Children's Week which developed around the turn-of-the-century to offer aid in child rearing.[9]

Sarmiento also founded public, coeducational teacher training schools. Called normal schools, they stressed literacy and analytic skills and for most women they provided the first educational opportunity beyond the primary level. Normal schools produced a core of educated women who were dedicated to teaching, and the schools were viewed positively since they were seen as ways for women to extend their domestic roles into the classroom. Early government involvement clearly placed emphasis on female education as a vehicle to strengthen domestic ties and to prepare the present and future generations to better serve the interests of the state.[10]

Other state-driven education initiatives followed. In the early 1900s, the government sponsored programs in career education and in university preparation for women. The Commercial High School No.1 offered a five-year program in career education. Even after graduation, however, women typically clustered in the lower level, lower paying positions. Advancement was difficult and legal restrictions imposed by the Argentine Civil Code further limited business opportunities for women. The National Girls' High School No. 1 prepared women for university education and for the professions, encouraging them to develop individual abilities. The numbers of women who qualified for this selective program and who took advantage of the opportunity were small, however. Moreover, the students came chiefly from the middle class and almost half were immigrants who most frequently took subjects that opened further opportunity. While the government provided the impetus for education, few women actually received university degrees before World War I and not until the 1920s did a significant nucleus of urban, literate females emerge. Sustained results from changes in education for women took time.[11]

By the turn-of-the-century, several other factors also contributed to the rise of a women's movement. Latin American scientific congresses drew women educators and scientists, including participants from Argentina, who debated issues of female education. New women's organizations also formed, some linked to international associations. One was the Argentine branch of the International Council of Women which drew support from traditional sectors such as charitable societies. A second was the International Feminist Congress, organized by the University Women of Argentina. This included a far more activist membership and appealed to such varied groups as teachers, socialists and anarchists. The International Feminist Congress, which met in Buenos Aires in 1910, served as an umbrella organization which pulled together women's groups with diverse interests that ranged from health care to equal pay, working conditions, suffrage and more. Historian, Francesca Miller has written that "it was in this forum that a broad-based feminist critique of Argentine society was formulated."[12]

By the beginning of the twentieth century, then, government programs that originated in the early 1800s, combined with more recent influences, produced the beginning of an active women's movement. The genesis of the movement centered around charitable work and it emphasized education. Added to these factors were later efforts to organize, to form networks and to articulate the argument that reform would better allow women to fullfill their "different mission," that of bearing, raising and nurturing a family. The Argentine Socialist party, formed in 1896, was also important. The party supported women's rights, emphasizing suffrage and legal reform. Because it was concerned about the exploitation of working women and children, the party also pushed for protective legislation. The Feminist Center, founded in 1905 and closely allied to the Socialist party, joined in support of protective measures for women and children. Yet in spite of these and other early efforts, it was not until after World War I that Argentine women achieved significant results, and those came through new organizations.[13]

The Argentine Civil Code, as noted earlier, had long been considered a special thorn that inhibited progress for women. Reform of the Code emerged as the central issue in the post- war movement, more important than suffrage. This law code denied most women a separate legal identity from men; it prohibited access to professions without male permission; it stripped women of property rights at marriage and more. At the close of World War I, two newly formed organizations, the National Feminist Union and the Women's Rights Association, the latter claiming 11,000 members, took up the cause. By this time, too, the environment for reform had improved. Both groups received good press coverage; public officials, at least verbally, supported the efforts; and progressivism in other western countries influenced reform in Argentina. All of this culminated in a 1926 law that revised aspects of the Civil Code. While the 1926 law did not completely overhaul the Code, it gave women the right to their own earnings, it gave them the right to inherit, and it extended the right to form business associations to married women. The 1926 law represented the first real step toward change in the legal status of women in Argentina. Suffrage waited until 1947, in the Peron era.[14]

In sum, in the Argentine experience, government sponsored charitable associations and educational reform opened doors and broadened awareness. Ideas from Western liberalism, domesticity, progressivism and socialism were important influences. Until the post World War I period, however, achievements were limited. In the aftermath of the war and with cohesive organizations and a broad support base in place, reformers produced results.

What similarities and differences emerge in the Arkansas and Argentine experiences? Differences are evident. In Argentina, government action provided the early stimulus while the Arkansas experience suggests more of a grassroots development. Arkansas women organized earlier, pulled from a more unified base and achieved results before women in Argentina did, although the thrust for reform in both areas occurred during the same time frame. While progressivism, the domestic cult, and the tradition of individual rights played roles in both areas, Argentine women stressed domesticity as their key argument for reform. Arkansas women cast a broader net and argued for rights as well. Finally, in Argentina, socialism was an added component.

Similarities are also striking. In both cases, education, educated women, and a core of similar concerns shaped the movements. Likewise, in both cases while the movement appealed to non-working women of the mid to upper classes, many of these women tended to look for socially acceptable, non-controversial outlets for their work. In neither case, however, did the leadership limit itself to non-controversial matters and in both areas women had to focus their reform campaigns on lawmakers and the public/political arena. Further, in both areas significant achievement centered around the war years and in both areas women attained their most important gains when they worked through effective organizations. Finally, whether in Arkansas or in Argentina, the results of women's work altered institutions and opened opportunities for them to become more prominent players in public life.

ENDNOTES

1. Nancy Wolloch, *Women and the American Experience* (New York, 1984), pp. 269-303; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1800-1860," in BarbaraWelter, ed., *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, Ohio, 1976), pp. 21-41.

2. Wolloch, pp. 269-270; 287-292.

3. Karen Blair, *The Clubwomen as Feminist: True Woman Redefined*, 1868-1914 (New York, 1980), pp. 1, 66,71, 93, 117-119; Mrs. J. C. Croly, *The History of the Women's Club Movement in America* (New York, 1898), pp. 210-231.

4. (Little Rock) *Arkansas Democrat*, March 19,1898, April 25, 1898; Frances Mitchell Ross, "The New Woman as Club Woman and Social Activist in Turn of the Century Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, L, Winter (1991), pp. 324-325.

5. Ross, pp. 317-351.

6. (Little Rock) *Arkansas Democrat*, February 5, 1898; *Arkansas Federation of Women's Clubs Yearbooks*, 1903-1904, p. 15; 1912-1913, p. 51; 1913-1914, pp. 62, 67. Hereafter referred to as *AFWC Yearbook*; Mrs. Frederick Hanger and Miss Clara Eno, *History of the Arkansas Federation of Women's Clubs 1898-1934* (Van Buren, Ark.:Arkansas Federation of Women's Clubs, 1935), pp. 16, 56. A. Elizabeth Taylor. "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Arkansas," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 15 Spring (1956), p. 29; Ross, pp. 345-346.

7. Hanger and Eno. *History of the Arkansas Federation of Women's Clubs 1898-1934*, p. 66; *AFWC Yearbook*, 1913-1914, pp. 68-69; Taylor. "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Arkansas," pp. 29, 30, 35, 40-47; (Little Rock) *Arkansas Gazette*, January 28, 31, February 18, 28, 1917; Ross. pp. 346-347.

8. Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice* (Hanover, 1991), p. 42; Cynthia Jeffress Little, "Education, philanthropy, and feminism: components of Argentine womanhood, 1860-1926," in Asuncion Lavrin, ed., *Latin American Women, Historical Perspectives* (Westport, 1978), p. 236.

9. Miller, pp. 44-45; Little, pp. 237-238; 250.

10. Miller, pp. 46, 51.

11. Little, pp. 241-242; Miller, pp. 54-55.

12. Miller, pp. 72-75.

13. Little, pp. 242-243, 247; Nancy Caro Hollander, "Women: The Forgotten Half of Argentine History, " in Ann Pescatello, ed., *Female and Male in Latin America: Essays*(Pittsburgh, 1973), pp. 142-143; Miller, pp. 74, 78.

14. Little, pp. 246-249.

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Blair, Karen. *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined,1868-1914.* New York:Holmes and Meier, 1980. This book provides good coverage of the club movement, with emphasis on the eastern United States. Blair sees many club women as feminists in disguise, who used the socially acceptable club as a vehicle to expand women's rights.

Croly, Mrs. J. C. *The History of the Women's Club Movement in America.* New York:1898. Authored by a pioneer in the club movement, this early history provides first hand accounts that are not readily available in other sources.

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Miller, Francesca. *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1991. This book provides a general history of women in Latin America in the 20th Century. The chapter, "Feminism and Social Motherhood, 1890-1938," is especially helpful for the Argentine experience. The book is recommended for classroom use.

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16th CENTURY WOMEN: A FILM AND DOCUMENTARY VIEW

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Linkage: This subject issue can fit into a variety of approaches to 16th century European History, Social History, or World History. One can use this approach within the six levels of culture format in the order that bests suits the teacher (political, economic, social, religious, intellectual, and military levels), or one can use this approach as a springboard for a comparative look at the changing role of women and the family in modern World History. At the same time this lesson is rooted in several elements of the historian's craft and promotes the student's ability to read and interpret documentary evidence and draw analytical conclusions based upon that evidence.

Background Information: The students will have read any number of textbook sections dealing with social history, whether in the Western Civilization context or in a World History context. The teacher can draw from *The Return of Martin Guerre* by Natalie Davis.

Student Level: High School, 10-11th Grade

Approximate Teaching Time: 45 Minute Class (2)

Materials:

1. Documentary evidence (attached) drawn from several Advanced Placement Documents-Based Questions (ETS)
2. Video/Laser Disc "The Return of Martin Guerre"
3. Worksheets (attached)

Objectives: This lesson in social history is designed

1. To promote an understanding of the rural, pre-industrial, social and economic environment;
2. To generate student discussion of the roles of men and women and the nature of the family and community in society;
3. To establish a foundation of social attitudes and relationships in western culture upon which to build both western and global comparative social models.

Presentation: Depending upon one's focus within social history, one can arrange the following issues in a variety of orders and add additional, especially comparative, models into the mixture.

Day #1: Have the students read from the social history segment of the Renaissance section or other pre-industrial section of their textbook before class. The teacher may then open the lesson in any number of ways: (1) designate some students to discuss the patterns of social behavior that they have observed from the textbook, i.e. men, women, families; (2) begin a class discussion about the roles of men, women, and the family today and the forces that may be influencing those roles; (3) explore the historic question of the roles of women, men, and family and see if the students are aware of changes over time and space. After 15-20 minutes, stop the discussion and begin showing the opening excerpts from the film "The Return of Martin Guerre." Instruct the students to make careful observations of all details pertaining to the roles of men and women, the nature of the family, and the nature of the community (use worksheet #1). The teacher should stop the film every 5-6 minutes to allow more careful note taking. Continue this stop-and-start process until the end of class, and encourage the students to improve their worksheet notes. Ideally the class will have seen about 20 minutes of the film, up to the point where Martin and Bertrande retire for the evening.

Day #2: Have the students read the documents as homework or as an opening of class exercise. Each student should complete worksheet #2 as completely as possible, always making at least one judgment where judgments are called for. The teacher should stress the need to look carefully for evidence, to record even minute details. The teacher then opens discussion with a series of open-ended questions which permit the students to verbalize their observations and their analytical judgments and raise issues concerning (1) the image of women by both women and men and the basis for those images (2), the role of women and the basis for those roles, and (3) the nature of the family/community. Probe the accuracy of student observations, get them to react to one another, and steer them toward validity judgments. Raise questions about historical accuracy (how do we know...?) and about further research (what additional information...?).

Assessment: A number of alternatives are appropriate for this 2-day lesson. The students might write a detailed paragraph in which they respond to one of the following kinds of leading questions:

A. Descriptive level:

1.Describe the role of women in 16th century Artigat and explain as best you can the reasons for those roles.

2. Describe the nature of the Guerre family as you perceive it. How does that family differ from your own?

B. Analytical level:

1. Discuss the different perceptions of the role of women that you see in the documents and in the film. Account for AT LEAST TWO of those different views (urban/rural; religious/secular).

2. In what ways did the male and female views of the role of women differ? How

similar are the viewpoints in the film and the documents?

3. Examine the ways by which Bertrande de Rols does or does not illustrate the traditional role of women in that agricultural community?

Document 1

"As for the question, why a greater number of witches is found in the fragile feminine sex than among men . . . the first is, that they are more credulous. The second reason is, that women are naturally more impressionable , and more ready to receive the influence of a disembodied spirit; and that when they use this quality well they are very good, but when they use it ill they are very evil.... But the natural reason is that she is more carnal than a man.... And it should be noted that there was a defect in the formation of the first woman, since she was formed from a bent rib, that is, a rib of the breast, which is bent as it were in a contrary direction to a man. And since through this defect she is an imperfect animal, she always deceives...."

Kramer and Sprenger, *The Hammer of Witches*
a handbook written by two Dominican monks, 1484

Document 2

" sorcerers or witches are the Devil's whores who steal milk, raise storms, ride on goats or broomsticks, lame or maim people, torture babies in their cradles, change things into different shapes to be a cow or an ox, and force people into love and immorality . . . not that the Devil is unable to do these things by himself without sorcerers, for he is lord of the world, yet he will not act without human help."

Martin Luther, preaching in 1522

Document 3

Abbot: Distaff and spindle are the proper equipment for women.

Lady : Isn't it a wife's business to manage the household and rear the children?

Abbot: It is.

Lady : Do you think she can manage so big a job without wisdom?

Abbot: I suppose not.

Lady : But books teach me this wisdom.

Abbot: I could put up with books, but not Latin ones.

Lady : Why not?

Abbot: Because that language isn't fit for women.

Lady : I want to know why.

Abbot: Because it does little to protect their chastity.

Erasmus, *The Abbot and the Learned Lady*
Switzerland, 1524

Document 4

"Study busies the whole soul. . . . It is not only a weapon against idleness but also a means of impressing the best precepts upon a girl's mind and of leading her to virtue."

Erasmus, *Christiani matrimonii institutio*
Switzerland, 1526

Document 5

"The court Lady must have not only the good judgment to recognize the kind of person with whom she is speaking, but must have knowledge of many things, in order to entertain that person graciously. . . . I say that women can understand all the things men can understand and that the intellect of women can penetrate wherever a man's can. . . ."

Castiglione, *The Courtier*, Italy, 1528

Document 6

"If God has done the grace to some poor women to reveal to them by his Holy Scriptures some good and holy thing, dare they not write about it, speak about it, and declare it one to the other. . . . Is it not foolishly done to hide the talent that God has given us?"

Marie Dentière, a devout Calvinist, writing in
The War and Deliverance of the City of Geneva,1539

Document 7

"All I can do is to beg our virtuous ladies to raise their minds somewhat above their distaffs and spindles and try to prove to the world that if we were not made to command, still we should not be disdained as companions in domestic and public matters by those who govern and command obedience. Apart from the good name that our sex will acquire thereby, we shall have caused men to devote more time and effort in the public good to virtuous studies for fear of seeing themselves left behind by those over whom they have always claimed superiority in practically everything. . . . If there is anything to be recommended after honor and glory, anything to incite us to study, it is the pleasure which study affords."

A letter from the poet Louise Labé to
a friend, France, 1555

Document 8

"Men have broad shoulders and narrow hips, and accordingly they possess intelligence. Women have narrow shoulders and broad hips. Women ought to stay at home; the way they were created indicated this, for they have broad hips and a wide fundament to sit upon (to keep house and bear and raise children)."

Martin Luther, *Table Talk*, 1566

Document 9

"To learn essential doctrine . . . there is no need for the woman or the artisan to take time out from their work and read the Old and New Testament . . . Then they'll want to dispute about it and give their opinion . . . and they can't help falling into error. Women must be silent in church, as Saint Paul says."

Emond Auger, a French Jesuit, 1566

Document 10

"I have just given you my opinion of the advantages that women may derive from a superior education. However, I have nearly always found that such preparation turned out to be useless for women of middling rank like yourselves . . . . There is the fact, moreover, that a disproportionate elevation of the mind is very apt to breed pride. I have seen two bad effects issue from this: (1) contempt for housekeeping, for poverty, and for a husband less clever than oneself, and (2) discord. And so I conclude that I would be most reluctant to encourage girls to pursue book learning unless they were princesses, obliged by their rank to assume the responsibilities, knowledge, competence, administration, and authority of men."

Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné
writer and historian, to his daughters
France, circa 1590

16th Century Social History

Worksheet #1: Film evidence

1. Record some evidence about men, women, and the family from the film episode.

2. Explain the rationale for the marriage of Martin Guerre and Bertrande de Rols. What social statements are being made by this marriage agreement?

3. What roles do you see men and women having in the community of Artigat?

4. What image or role of women emerges from the evening conversations and activities that surround Martin Guerre's return?

5. How would you describe the basic relationships inside the Artigat community and Guerre household (husband/wife, parent/child, family/neighbors)?

16th Century Social History

Worksheet #2: Documentary evidence

1. Identify what you see to be the mainstream male views on the image of women and their role in society (look for several different ones).

2. Explain the rationale for those male views (what do you see as the reasoning behind each male positions).

3. There are differences of opinion in the male positions. Can you explain those differences and justify them?

4. How would you describe the female view of the role of women? Are there differences of opinion there? Can you account for them?

5. Which documentary ideas do you find most clearly illustrated in the film? Do any get contradicted by the film? How so?

RUSSIAN EXPANSION IN ASIA

Major Scott Gorman, USAF

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Synopsis: This lesson stresses the importance of geography in world history by tracing Russia's expansion across Siberia into Asia. A thorough understanding of Russian history is impossible without an understanding of Russian geography and climate. Inhabiting a state which would come to cover one sixth of the land mass of the globe, the Russians have relied on centralized power to bring together their widely dispersed lands and protect their society against frequent invasions from both east and west. Situated between Asia and Europe, Russia has absorbed qualities from both worlds, becoming a uniquely enigmatic state which is neither entirely European, nor entirely Asian.

Linkage: This lesson is Lesson 23 of 42 in the World History course taught at the United States Air Force Academy. It is one of four lessons in a block titled "Conquest and Change", which discusses Western expansion across the globe. This block of lessons sets the stage for the transition from regional to global history and European world dominance.

Background Information: Background information for this lesson is from Stavrianos' A Global History, chapter 26. This chapter covers the geography of Russia, early Russian expansion (prior to 1500), and then focuses on Russian expansion across Siberia from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century.

Student Level: As part of our introductory level World History course, this lesson is taught to students who may not have taken a class in World History in high school. Very few of these students have had any exposure to Russian history or culture. Despite their lack of exposure, most of the students at the United States Air Force Academy are above- average students.

Approximate Teaching Time: 45 minutes

Materials: Course text (Stavrianos A Global History)

Course study guide

Historical atlas (Hammond: The Times Concise Atlas of World History)

Overhead maps

Objectives: At the conclusion of the lesson, students should:

- understand the importance of geography in shaping world history, particularly in the case of Russia and her expansion across Asia.
- understand the differences and similarities in the American and Russian frontier experiences and explain how each contributed to the shaping of these countries.

- understand the historical impact of the interaction of cultures in shaping today's world and Russia's unique role as a middleman between East and West.

Methods: This lesson is taught primarily through class discussion and instructor lecture. Overhead slides of maps are used to point out the geography of Siberia and to trace Russian expansion across the continent.

Presentation and Endnotes: (attached)

Assessment: Student comprehension of the lesson could be tested in several ways. The student could be presented with a blank map of Russia and asked to locate geographically significant features. At the completion of the lesson, the class could discuss the following questions: How did the American and Russian frontier experience differ and why? Which geographic features facilitated expansion? Which factors hindered expansion? Are there any similar circumstances in history where geography played such an important role in the development of a country? Can you think or any instances in which geography was not a factor?

Bibliography:

Barraclough, Geoffrey, ed. *Hammond: The Times Concise Atlas of World History* Maplewood, NJ: Hammond Incorporated, 1994. Historical atlas used in the World History course at the USAF Academy. See pp.84-85 for a discussion of Russian expansion.

Bater, James H. and R. A. French, eds. *Studies in Russian Historical Geography*. London: Academic Press, 1983.Collection of essays on various aspects of geography in Russian history written by Western scholars.

Dmytryshyn, Basil et al, eds. *Russia's Conquest of Siberia, 1558-1700: A Documentary Record.* Portland: Western Imprints, 1985. Letters, telegrams and reports from the main characters involved in the conquest of Siberia.

Forsyth, James. *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia's North Asian Colony, 1581-1990.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Good source for information on native Siberian tribes and the effects of Russian expansion on native cultures.

Kerner, Robert J. "The Russian Eastward Movement". *Pacific Historical Review* May,1948: 135-148. Good summary article, despite its age, by one of the foremost American scholars on the period of Russian expansion.

Lincoln, W. Bruce. *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians.* New York:Random House, 1994. Lincoln is known for the readability and quality of his narratives. This well-researched book contains many enlightening and entertaining stories from the epic conquest of Siberia.

Rywkin, Michael, ed. *Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917*. London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1988. Collection of essays on Russian colonial expansion. Includes helpful charts and maps..

Stavrianos, L.S. *A Global History: From Prehistory to the Present.* 6th ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995. World history text used by the USAF Academy. Chapter 26 is titled "Russian Expansion in Asia." Each chapter contains suggested readings for further information.

Sumner, B. H. "The Frontier". *Readings in Russian Civilization.* Vol. 1. Ed. Thomas Riha. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964. Sumner echoes the ideas of the great Russian historians like Soloviev and Kliuchevsky in stating that colonization was perhaps the leading factor in the Russian historical experience. This article includes a description of the climactic and vegetation zones in Russia and their impact on Russian civilization throughout the course of history.

Wesson, Robert. *The Russian Dilemma.* Rev. ed. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986. Stresses the unique nature of Russia as a state which grew up in a "transition zone" between Europe and Asia and the Baltic and Black Seas. The "dilemma" is that Russians have been forced to borrow Western technology to implement their expansion, yet Western ideas which have accompanied the technology have threatened the authoritarianism that the Russians must maintain to avoid "psychological and political loss".

Wieczynski, Joseph L. *The Russian Frontier: The Impact of Borderlands Upon the Course of Early Russian History.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1976. Applies the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner to the Russian frontier experience. Concludes that, unlike in the United States, the frontier promoted a reaction from central authorities, resulting in a "...triumph of the Russian state over the spirit of the Russian frontier."

Outline

Russian Expansion in Asia 1556-1689

I. **Introduction**. The 16th and 17th centuries were centuries of exploration and expansion. Whereas the European powers expanded overseas, the Russians expanded across the Asian continent, conquering the vast empty spaces of Siberia in what was an epic story not unlike the United States' experience on the western frontier.

II. **Overview**.

A. Geography: the "stage" of Russian history

B. The frontier experience in the U.S. and Russia

C. Russian expansion and the conquest of Siberia

D. Lasting cultural and environmental impacts

III. **Body**

A. ***The geography of Russia***

"Towards the people of Western Europe, nature acted like a mother; towards the people who were fated to dwell in E. Europe, she was a stepmother."

Sergei Soloviev, Russian Historian[1]

[1] Russian historians (Soloviev and Kliuchevsky) emphasize the advantages that Europe had geographically over Russia

  a. Proximity to the sea.

  b. Long, useable coastlines.

  c. Clearly delimited borders.

  d. Ease of internal communications.

2. Enormous size - a sixth of the land surface of the globe
    a. 11 time zones (difficulty of administration)
    b. Journey from Moscow to Vladivostok is the equivalent of London to San Francisco.
    c. St. Petersburg is closer to New York than Vladisvostok which is closer to Seattle.
3. Lack of defensible East-West boundaries (topographical uniformity)
    a. Urals are an artificial division and rise only some 2000 feet.
    b. Broad flat plains facilitated expansion, Mongols (Tatars) to the West and later Russians to the East.
4. North-South flowing river system
    a. Easily navigated.
    b. East-West branches facilitated expansion; between Urals and Lena R., only two portages of 5 and 10 miles.
    c. Primary routes for commerce, colonization and conquest.
    d. Despite long coastlines, essentially a landlocked state.
5. Northerly climate
    a. Latitude of Moscow about the same as Anchorage.
    b. Cold, few hours of daylight.
    c. Severe continental climate - hot summers, cold winters
    d. Uninterrupted chain of mountains, deserts and inland seas in the South blocked southerly expansion until the late nineteenth century.
5. Four vegetation zones - Russian history is the story of the Slavic peasants of the forests vs. nomads of the plains
    a. Tundra - frozen north (60-300 miles wide, 15% of Russia).
    b. Taiga - forest belt (1/5 of the world's forests).
    c. Steppe - open, treeless fertile black-earth area (highway for Asiatic nomads).
    d. Desert - China to the Caspian Sea.

QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION: How did the geography of Russia influence its early history?

- e. Impact of geography
    1. Frequent invasions (Mongols, Charles XII, Napoleon, Hitler).
    2. Difficulty in governing led to the perceived need for a strong autocratic government.
    3. Combined with Poland/Lithuania to the West and Mongols to the South, channeled expansion eastward.
    4. Relative dearth of agricultural land has created hardships.

B. *The frontier experience in the US and Russia.*

1. Turner's thesis
    - a. Rugged individualism, not pedigree or inheritance.
    - b. Democracy facilitated by the "safety valve" of the frontier.
    - c. Institutions in the center reflect the democratic ways of the frontier.

QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION: Did Turner's thesis apply to the Russian frontier? Why or why not?

2. Similarities
    - a. Same rugged individualism required to survive.
    - b. Use of rivers similar.
3. Differences
    - a. Earlier. 1700: 330,000 Russians in Siberia, 300,000 in 13 colonies.
    - b. Role of the state.
    - c. Individualism seen as a threat; inspired more reaction than reform in order to maintain control of vast expanses (a triumph of the Russian state over the spirit of the frontier)[2]
    - d. Religious conversion not a driving factor (v. Spanish in America)

C. *The Conquest of Siberia.*

1. Background
    - a. Subsistence agriculture led to scattered homesteads and small hamlets; Kiev became the center of early Russia.
    - b. Lack of coordination and cooperation between appanage princes made Russia easy prey for the Mongols in 1237, who would dominate Russia for 250 years.
    - c. Russians withdrew to the forests and established a new national center at Moscow.
        1. Proximity of river system facilitated commerce.
        2. Cunning and peaceful rulers.
    - d. "Gathering of the lands" begun under Ivan Kalita ("moneybags") in the 15th century.
    - e. Thanks to unification and use of Western technology, were finally able to expel the Mongols (although the Crimean Khanates was not defeated until Catherine the Great in the 18th century).

QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION: What were the lasting impacts of the Mongol invasions on the Russians?

- f. Impacts
    1. Eastern despotism in the shape of the all-powerful autocratic, need for security and secure border areas.
    2. Depopulation led to the need to tie down peasants and a lack of settlers for the newly-conquered lands.

2. Into Siberia
    - a. With the defeat of the Kazan and Astrakhan Khanates in 1556 (Ivan the Terrible, 1533-1584), the doors were now open to the exploration and conquest of Siberia.
    - b. Motivation
        1. Defense against raids from the East.
        2. Furs ($$$).
        3. The search for a northern passage (Richard Chancellor and the Muscovy Company founded in

1553 after shipwreck in the North).

c. Stroganovs (the instruments of state expansionism)

    1. Wealthy merchant family in E. Russia who courted favor of the Tsar (taxes).

    2. Saw advantage of move into Siberia (salt, furs).

    3. 1558 given a land concession on the Kama River.

    3. Hired private army of Cossacks to fight off the troublesome Sibers and explore across the Urals; employed 10000 and 5000 serfs.

QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION: Who were the Cossacks?

d. The Cossacks

    1. Rough and ready independent peasants similar to the frontierspeople of the American West.

    2. Fled serfdom to the southern steppes where they intermingled with the Tatars.

    3. Known for their banditry and military skills.

    4. Conquered Siberia in small bands of 25 to 850 men.

e. Yermak Timofeevich - a Russian folk hero, the Pisaro of Russia

    1. Cossack condemned to death for stealing horses who fled to the Volga to lead a band of river pirates.

    2. Hired by Stroganovs to fight the Siberian Tatars under Khan Kuchum.

    3. Campaigned from 1581-1584, conquering the Siberian Khanate.

    4. Drowned in 1584 under the weight of a gift from the Tsar.

f. Russians advanced across Siberia at an incredible rate

    1. Yenisei 1607; Lena 1632; Pacific Ocean, 1637.

    2. By 1637, the Russians had reached Okhotsk on the Pacific (English settlers had not yet crossed the Alleghenies).

    3. 1637 founding of Siberian Dept in the government which was renowned for its corruption.

    4. Natives of the region lacked Western military technology and were widely dispersed and disunified.

        5. Built *ostrogs* or blockhouses to secure routes of communication.

    g. Middle of the 17th century, Russians began to infringe on the interests of the Chinese.

        1. Hunger drove Cossacks to the rich Amur River valley.

        2. In 1658, the Chinese Emperor sent an expedition northward to clear the Russians out of the Amur basin.

        3. Differences settled by the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689, which ended the first stage of Russian expansion in Asia (first treaty signed by China with a European power).

        4. Trade with China would now outdistance the fur trade.

D. *Impacts of Russian Expansion*

1. Effects on native peoples.

    a. The further from Moscow, the greater the lawlessness.

    b. Impact on native tribes as disastrous as on American Indians; collected tribute known as *yasak*.

    c. Interests were primarily commercial, so religious missionaries were not as important as in the New World (converts did not pay tribute so there was an economic incentive *not* to convert natives).

QUESTION FOR DISCUSSION: Would you describe the Russian Empire as a melting pot or a mosaic? Why did this occur?

    d. Minority peoples have maintained their sense of identity, unlike in the melting pot of the U. S.

        1. Mosaic of glass in which each element retains its own color; each would remain a separate political identity.

        2. Native peoples more numerous than the American Indians and therefore more easily maintain a sense of identity; *not* moved to reservations.

        3. Lack of heterogeneous mix of foreign immigrants; no flood of peoples to overwhelm native cultures.

2. Effect on character of Russian government.

a. Despotism, corruption and wealth.

b. Reaction to challenge of individualism.

c. Stronger central authority to control vast areas.

d. Wealth from furs and other Siberian resources enable Russian autocrats (government was the chief fur trader).

    1. Took 10% tax of the best furs.
    2. Lucrative monopoly over foreign fur trade.
    3. 7-30% of the total income of the state in the mid-seventeenth century.[3]

e. Lack of foreign immigrants and severe climate left Siberia sparsely populated; forced to use prisoners and forced labor to help populate Siberia.[4]

3. Effect on Russian people.

    a. The Russian Idea, the urge toward expansionism and security and power through size; space in and of itself bespoke of greatness.

    b. Served as an outlet to flee the bonds of serfdom. Land-holding nobility and practice of serfdom did not make its way to Siberia.

    c. The opening up of the vast natural resources and wealth of Siberia.

4. Environmental impacts

    a. With the exploitation of these resources, the environmental destruction of an entire continent.

    b. Siberia is not only a place of punishment, but a punished place.

Russian Expansion in Asia A Chronology

1223	First Mongol invasion; Russians defeated on the Khalka
1227	Death of Genghis Khan
1237-1242	Mongol conquest of Russia
1240-1480	Period of the Mongol-Tatar yoke
1253	Founding of Sarai as the capital of the Golden Horde
1328-1340	**Ivan I Kalita** (Money-bags)
1353-1359	**Ivan II The Meek**
1359-1389	**Dmitrii Donskoi**
1380	Victory of Dmitrii Donskoi over the Tatars at Kulikovo Field
1382	Moscow burnt by Tokhtamysh
1395	Defeat of the Golden Horde by Tamerlane
1430-1466	Disintegration of the Golden Horde
1462-1505	**Ivan III The Great**
1480	Unsuccessful campaign of Golden Horde against Ivan III
1480	End of Muscovite dependency on Mongols
1547-1584	**Ivan IV The Terrible**
1552	Capture of Kazan, gateway to Siberia
1556	Astrakhan defeated
1558	Stroganovs granted land on the Kama River
1571	Crimean Tatars burn Moscow
1581	Yermak begins conquest of Siberia
1598-1613	Time of Troubles
1613-1917	Romanov dynasty
1613	Election of Michael Romanov as Tsar by Zemskii Sobor
1613-1645	**Michael Fedorovich Romanov**
1637	Russians reach Okhotsk on the Pacific Ocean

1645-1676	**Alexis Michaelovich Romanov**
1658	Chinese clear Russians out of the Amur River basin
1676-1682	**Fedor III**
1689	Treaty of Nerchinsk with China
1689-1725	**Peter I The Great**
1697	Conquest of Kamchatka
1725-1727	**Catherine I**
1725-1729	First Arctic expedition of Bering
1727-1730	**Peter II**
1730-1740	**Anna**
1732-1741	Second expedition of Bering
1740-1741	**Ivan VI**
1741-1762	**Elizabeth**
1762	**Peter III** (murdered)
1762-1796	**Catherine II The Great**
1783	Incorporation of the Crimea into the Russian Empire

* For a detailed chronology of Russian history, see the Bucknell Russian Studies Homepage at http://www.bucknell.edu/departments/russian/

LATIN AMERICA AND THE AGE OF DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS

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Brief Synopsis: A revolution resembles a virus. It attacks its host and if successful, conquers it while adapting and mutating to different environments. The Latin American revolutions of 1810-1824 were a result of revolutionary movements that began in Europe- the Glorious Revolution of 1688-which spread to North America-the American Revolution of 1776- which influenced the French Revolution of 1789-and then the Latin American Revolutions which began in 1810.

Linkage: This lesson comes after lessons on the Scientific and Industrial Revolutions as well as European expansion overseas. The lesson also shows the relationship between the Glorious, American, French and Latin American revolutions within the Atlantic community.

Background Information: *The Penguin History of Latin America* by Edwin Williamson and *The Age of Democratic Revolutions* by R.R. Palmer.

Student Level: Required core course for freshmen cadets at the US Air Force Academy, a four-year undergraduate, (Bachelor of Science) degree granting institution for students heavily steeped in engineering, mathematics and the sciences.

Approximate Teaching Time: 50 min.

Materials: Handout, slides, overheads on the political/econ/relig structure of colonial LatAm, map, overhead on the Bourbon Reforms, and music-"4-40, "a salsa group from the Dominican Republic. Also, the short story, "Guayaquil" by Borges adds mystery to the meeting in Ecuador, where San Martín inexplicably renounces all power to Bolívar and leaves for Europe never to return.

Objectives: Students get an overview of the geography, class structure, religion and economic systems prevalent in colonial Latin America. The lecture then chronologically approaches the various revolutions mentioned above, focusing on their causes and outcomes. Finally, the various Latin American independence movements, (both Spanish American and Brazilian) are discussed in the wider context of these Atlantic Revolutions and within their own domestic frameworks. Analytical skills are stressed here as the students will need to define revolutions, analyze different types and then compare them in a global (cross-Atlantic) setting.

Methods: Students should read sections on the democratic revolutions before this lecture and then discuss the lecture during the succeeding lesson.

Presentation: mainly lecture with some student participation in a 60-90 student auditorium setting. Students are questioned and involved during discussion of the setting of colonial Latin America and are aided with power point slides at this juncture.

Assessment: The intent of the lesson is to introduce students to Latin America through a combination of multi-media. Students will consider revolutions in the Atlantic context and question whether the Latin American independence movements truly constituted a revolution. Finally, I will introduce the cadets to possible Latin American assignments, as future Air Force officers and review academic and foreign exchange opportunities they will have during their time at the Academy.

Tests: Instructors at the Academy are responsible for 60% of their three graded review or exams. They are encourage though not required to use material from the lectinars as part of their essays. The Test Committee will also include multiple choice questions on material from the lectinar presentations.

Bibliography:

Palmer, R.R. *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964.

Williamson, Edwin. *The Penguin History of Latin America*. London: Penguin Books, 1992.

Graham, Richard. *Independence in Latin America: A Comparative Approach*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994.

THESIS and NARRATIVE

I. THESIS: A revolution resembles a virus. It attacks its host, and if successful, conquers it while adapting and mutating to different environments. This lesson will discuss the revolutionary movements, beginning in 1688 and ending with the Latin American Independence movements, within the context of an Atlantic Revolution, as put forth by Dr. Palmer.

a. The Latin American Revolutions of 1810-1824 were a result of revolutionary movements begun in Europe (The Glorious Revolution of 1688), which spread to North America (The American Revolution of 1776), returned to Europe (The French Revolution 1789), came back to America (The Latin American Revolutions of 1810)

b. These revolutions all had the Enlightenment as a basis of ideas and these ideas, like a virus, would grow in relation to their environments.

II. The setting in colonial Latin America

a. Geography: describe Caribbean/Meso-America/Andean & southern cone regions on large map

b. Historical periods: Pre-Columbian/Conquest/Colonization/Bourbons/Indep.

c. Languages: Sp/Port/Indigenous/Engl/Fr/Dutch

d. Economics: Mix of capitalism, mercantilism and smuggling (trade)

e. Religion: Cathol/ Evang Prot[20th century]/African and indigenous

f. Society: Peninsular/Creole/Mestizo/Indian-Indigenous/African slaves & mix

g. Politics/Ideology: Colonial Empires under Spanish and Portuguese monarchies

III. Glorious Revolution

a. Nobles deposed James II, 1688: relig. intolerance and taxation issues

b. John Locke's Two Treatises of Government

FILM CLIP-ENLIGHTENMENT

IV. American Revolution

a. Led by colonial property owners who resented their lack of control over taxes which threatened their property hence freedom by an outside power.

b. Enlightenment thinkers such as Locke and Jefferson influence the colonists

c. Note: American tradition of self-rule will result in a broader democratic movement

d. Note: Americans do not use Native Americans for labor as the Latin Americans do: difference. US Indians not sedentary Note: Neither region will extend rights to the slaves of African origin and are terrified of the Haiti Revolution. Fear of race wars confront the "American" revolutionaries, unlike their European counterparts who didn't have large slave pop.

IV. French Revolution

a. Like the American Revolution this also began over the Third Estate's belief that the King should consult representatives of the people (propertied people) over taxes - property questions.

b. Uprising expands during wartime when national fear leads to the guillotining of King Louis XVI and the overthrow of the Old Regime.

c. Reign of Terror by Robespierre will lead to even more bloodshed and horror which sends panic throughout North and South America when they witness the extraordinary violence and chaos

d. Also, Creoles see that Fr. Rev. led to Napoleon-a dictator who involved France in wars throughout the continent

V. Latin American Revolution

a. Spanish America

-Bourbon reforms: a cause for revolution-Church/Commercial class alienation and Creole alienation at exclusion from administrative jobs-Napoleonic invasion: a cause for revolution-Pol. legitimacy of Span.Crown ended with replacement of Spanish monarchy by Joseph Bonaparte-Cadiz mutiny: Spanish monarch loses control over his troops

b. Result

-Political change: monarchy gone

-Creoles replace Peninsulares

-Indians and African-Americans still have no rights

c. Portuguese America

-Dom Pedro, son of King Joao VI, sympathetic to Creoles and wants independence for Brazil

-British protection: British trade was too important to endanger with protectionist policies from Portugal so Britain offered support for independence

-1822 Brazil independence: contrast peaceful nature

VI. Conclusion

a. Latin America power will now devolve to caudillos-local chieftains with their personal armies during the 19th century.

b. The inspiration of the successful Latin American Independence movements will inspire further revolts in Europe to include the Greek independence movement against the Ottoman Empire in the late 1820's and the continued French struggle between the Crown, and the forces for democratic change.

MAP PUZZLE OF AFRICA

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SYNOPSIS

Part of a unit that we might teach on Africa would include place geography. One strategy we use in U.S. History is utilization of "cut and paste" maps. Cut and paste maps allow the students to operate both visually and kinesthetically while learning place names in visual spatial relationships. I would also use this approach to teaching place locations in Africa, specifically for learning country names and locations. Hopefully during the process of assembling their Africa map puzzles, the students would wonder about the peculiar shapes of some African countries. I would use this as a launching point for a discussion of the European partition of Africa.

LINKAGE

This would be the first activity in a unit on African history in the period 1750-1914. This unit would follow the unit covering the rise of the nation-state in Europe, mercantilism and exploration.

STUDENT LEVEL

This exercise is designed for students in grades 10 through 12 and an array of academic abilities, from the mainstreamed learning disabled to former International Baccalaureate students.

TEACHING TIME

Three fifty minute class periods are needed for the assembly of the Africa puzzle maps, approximately thirty-five minutes for the post-test, and one fifty minute class period for discussion of the partition of Africa.

MATERIALS

The materials needed for this lesson are fairly simple. The students would need copies of the Africa map puzzle pieces, scissors, tape (clear), construction paper (2), glue, colored pencils, and a recent atlas. Also needed are blank copies of outlines maps of Africa for the pre and post test and for a list of current countries in Africa.

OBJECTIVES

1). Students should be able to correctly assemble and label the puzzle map of Africa.

2). Students are able to fill in a blank map of Africa with its current countries.

PRESENTATION

1). Give a pre-test on the country names of Africa.

2). Allow the students to complete the outline map with an atlas or their textbook.

3). Distribute the map puzzle and verbally explain the instructions for completion. Write the instructions on the board and have students copy them down.

4). Students may work individually or with a partner to complete the puzzle map of Africa.

5) Give a post-test on the country names in Africa.

ASSESSMENT

The Africa map puzzle will be graded based on neatness and accuracy. Students will also be evaluated on the accuracy of their Africa post-test.

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PART FOUR: New Directions in World History Assessments

Alternative Student Assessments:	An Alternative Assessment Strategy for World History Teachers and Students
Assessment Mechanisms	Global World History and Constructivist Assessments

AN ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT STRATEGY FOR WORLD HISTORY TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

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In every course of study, a teacher's curriculum planning, choice of instructional methodology, and means of assessment are inextricably linked. In a world history course, teachers must decide which of history's habits of mind they will attempt to foster in their students, which conceptual and organizational approaches they will use to present the course's content, and which assessment technique they will employ to measure the depth and breadth of the students' knowledge and understanding of a lesson, a unit of study, or a semester's work. This brief article addresses the third aspect of this triad by suggesting that what has become known in the literature as Alternative Assessment reveals the most information about three dimensions of a student's historical literacy.[1] First, students who complete alternative assessment activities demonstrate their *knowledge* of historical facts, themes, and ideas. Second, students who complete alternative assessment activities demonstrate their ability to *reason*; that is, to analyze, evaluate, and synthesize historical evidence. And third, students who complete alternative assessment activities demonstrate their ability to *communicate* their knowledge and reasoning to others.

Each of these dimensions has specific characteristics that supply the framework teachers need to design an effective alternative assessment activity for their students. *Knowledge* of historical evidence is the prerequisite students need to demonstrate their ability in the two other dimensions. Students who have developed historical knowledge are able to accurately identify, define, and describe important concepts, facts, and details. The study of history, however, must extend beyond the acquisition of discrete pieces of information. While mastering a given narrative and knowing about significant individuals and events are important, it is essential that students also know about the universal themes and ideas that cut across the human experience. In a world history course, the possible themes and ideas might include those identified in the National Standards: comparative civilizations; civilizations in a global context; interregional history; and thematic history.[2] Or, the themes might be based on the Bradley Commission's Vital Themes and Narratives.[3] The teacher's best professional judgment, or school district and state mandate, will determine the scope of the key facts and significant details of a world history course.

Historical facts and themes, approached through informed questions, are a point of departure for demonstrating a student's ability to reason. *Reasoning* makes the facts and themes meaningful, thereby bringing about a deeper understanding of the subject. Reasoning involves interpretation, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation of information. Reasoning requires students to discover relationships among facts and generalizations, and values and opinions, as a means to provide a solution to a problem, to make a judgment, or to reach a logical conclusion. Teachers will recognize these abilities from lists of activities found within the cognitive domain and lists of critical thinking skills. However, just as a distinction can be made in the relationship between isolated facts and more fully developed historical knowledge, a distinction must also be made between critical thinking skills and historical reasoning. The National History Standards makes the distinction between *historical* thinking skills and *historical* understandings. While the latter helps to define what students should know, the former enables young learners to differentiate between past, present, and future time; raise questions; seek and evaluate evidence; compare and analyze historical stories, illustrations, and records; interpret the historical record; and construct historical narratives of their own.[4] Similarly, a useful explanation of historical reasoning was provided by the Bradley Commission in its "Habits of Mind."[5] These Habits of Mind include the ability to:

* Understand the significance of the past and the present to their own lives and

to

the lives of others

* Distinguish between the important and unimportant

* Perceive events and issues as they were experienced by people at the time

* Acquire a comprehension of diverse cultures

* Understand how human intentions matter

* Comprehend the interplay of change and continuity

* Realize that all problems may not have solutions

* Appreciate the often tentative nature of judgments

*Recognize the importance of individuals who have made a difference

* Appreciate the force of nonrational, the irrational, and the accidental in human efforts

* Understand the relationship between people, time, and place as the context of events

* Recognize the difference between fact and conjecture

* Use evidence to frame useful questions

Effective *communication* of historical knowledge and reasoning requires a student to organize his or her thoughts. In recounting the story of the past, a student must have a clearly defined thesis and an interesting narrative that tells what happened in an informed way. A well-organized presentation also supplies relevant examples to support main ideas and offers conclusions and a synthesis based on an analysis of historical sources. Furthermore, evidence of a student's knowledge and reasoning must always be apparent in an effective presentation. Alternative assessment in history offers a wide variety of ways for students to communicate their knowledge and reasoning: analyzing a primary source, drawing political cartoons, creating newspapers, participating in historical simulations, and writing research papers. Imaginative history teachers and students can create dozens of appropriate activities for assessment.

A History Rubric

How does Alternative Assessment work? As outlined above, an effective alternative assessment activity must take into account each of the three dimensions of student learning, and the teacher must have at hand the means--a scoring rubric--to assess learning in each dimension. In **Figure 1**, we offer a rubric and general criteria that teachers can employ to assess their students' historical knowledge, reasoning, and communication.[6] This model is an analytic rubric: it allows a history teacher to assess simultaneously student performance in each of the three interrelated dimensions. Each level is defined by several criteria which reflect a student's abilities and skills. Collectively, Levels 6,5,4 are designed to differentiate among students whose knowledge, reasoning, and communication skills are *Developed*. Collectively, Levels 3,2,1 represent knowledge, reasoning, and communication skills that are still *Developing*. Level 6 represents work of a student who exhibits the most developed skills; Level 1 represents the works of a student with the lowest level of developing skills. *The gap between Level 3 and Level 4 is wider than the gap between any of the other levels because it differentiates between a student whose skills are still developing and a student whose skills are developed.* An analytic rubric is especially appropriate and useful for assessment in history education. Teachers know that their students may perform at a more or less developed level in one dimension than in another. For example, when a student analyzes a primary document he or she may demonstrate knowledge at a Level 6, reasoning at a Level 5, and communication at a Level 3. An analytic rubric allows teachers to take these differences into account when assessing their students. An analytic rubric also benefits the students. It shows them their strengths and weaknesses in each dimension, thereby indicating where they must place their time and effort to improve. The effective use of a rubric requires careful planning and practice by teacher and students alike. Moreover, teachers must share the rubric with their students because it contains the criteria that students will have to meet as they construct historical knowledge, engage in historical reasoning, and communicate what they know and understand. Successful acquisition of knowledge, reasoning, and communication skills demands that both teachers and students know in advance the criteria they are seeking in each dimension, and that the students are coached about the best ways to demonstrate their abilities. For teachers, the rubric serves as a diagnostic tool; for students, it establishes the parameters for attaining success.

Student Samples of Alternative Assessment

To illustrate use of the History Rubric for Alternative Assessment, we offer three examples of student work in a world history course and the feedback provided by their teacher. The students were among seventy-five freshmen in an Ancient History class at Naperville North High School in Naperville, Illinois. The instructor was a second-year teacher who was familiar with the use of rubrics for alternative assessment in history. The project, which required the students to produce a travel guide for ancient Rome, was assigned during the fourteenth week of the semester. Students worked cooperatively in groups of four, and in most instances each group reflected a diverse range of intellectual abilities and creative skills. Students had two weeks to complete their travel guides, and the teacher allotted students only two days of time in class to produce the brochure. Thus, students were compelled to work together outside of class to complete successful projects.

The teacher wanted her students to demonstrate that they understood how the geographic features of Italy, the governmental structure of the republic, the culture of the Roman people, and Rome's expansion affected the development of Roman society. The teacher had introduced her students to the Bradley Commission's six Vital Themes and Narratives and had stressed the thirteen "Habits of Mind" throughout the semester. The themes emphasized for this project focused on Human interaction with the environment; Values, beliefs, political ideas, and institutions; Civilization, cultural diffusion, and innovation; and Conflict and cooperation. To stress the importance of these themes as a way to organize knowledge, each travel guide contained sections on geography, laws and government, culture, and expansion. The teacher also encouraged her students to demonstrate their creativity and create guides that would be aesthetically appealing to tourists and comply with the physical dimensions of a typical travel guide or brochure. (See **Figure 2** for Roman Travel Guide prompt.)

After two weeks, students submitted their completed projects. The following three examples represent student work at various levels of performance.[7] One example illustrates *developed* students who exhibited a Level 6 in the dimension of knowledge, reasoning, and communication skills, respectively. The organization of their material was coherent. They provided accurate historical data; they linked important ideas to larger themes; and they incorporated colorful supplements such as charts and monographs. Moreover, the students designed an attractive cover, entitled "Welcome to Italy: A Land of Beauty," and wrote an introduction to the guide that enhanced the appeal of the guide to Rome. The students earned a Level 6 in all three dimensions because they included accurate historical content, analyzed and synthesized information about the Roman republic's structure and culture, and used clear and precise descriptions to persuade potential tourists to travel to Rome.

A second example shows students' work at Level 5 in knowledge, a Level 5 in reasoning, and a Level 4 in communication. This sample also demonstrated *developed* levels in knowledge, reasoning, and communication skills. In the knowledge dimension, however, the project did not always contain specific details. For example, in the geography section students named rivers and mountains but failed to describe the distinct physical features of Italy's topography. Moreover, one of the maps lacked a key. In the reasoning dimension, the students demonstrated an ability to select and focus upon important content information, but they lacked the analytical and synthesizing skills that are necessary to score at the highest level. For example, in the post card on law and government, students chose a crucial idea (The Law of the Twelve Tables from The Struggle of the Orders) but they failed to explain fully *why* this event was important to the development of Roman government. In the communication dimension, the groups' attempt to recreate an authentic appearance in the geography narrative via a reproduction of parchment was most laudable. However, there was a deficiency in performance conventions in other areas. The size of the maps for both the geography section and Roman expansion did not comply with the physical criteria for the travel guide. Moreover, the writing in the culture section included fragments, incomplete thoughts, and grammatical errors.

Another example demonstrates students' work that is still *developing*. This third sample shows students' exhibiting a Level 4 in knowledge, a Level 2 in reasoning, and a Level 2 in communication. In the knowledge dimension, the geography section was adequate even though the map lacked a key. The section on culture provided a sound overview of content information, and the law and government section identified several important elements related to the structure of the Roman republic. However, students encountered problems demonstrating their reasoning and communication skills. In the reasoning dimension, students' work did not reveal much analytical power. For example, the "primary source narrative" called for students to write a first person account which would demonstrate a perception of past events as they were experienced by people at the time. The narrative in this section merely restated information found in the world history textbook, and it lacked the personal description required for this section of the travel guide. In addition, the post card on culture was vague, and it did not inform a tourist of the major components that reflected the development of Roman art. In the communication dimension, students used computer graphics in an attractive manner but they did not organize the guide into the appropriate categories. Moreover, the overall appearance of the guide and deficiencies in performance conventions indicated a lack of attention to specific detail.

Conclusion

The Roman Travel Guide project accompanied by the History Rubric for Alternative Assessment gave students an opportunity to communicate what they knew and thought about the Roman republic. Throughout the course of the project, the rubric was a medium of communication between the students and their teacher. By presenting the rubric to the students at the introduction of the project, the teacher established her expectations for the assignment and communicated to the students the parameters for their success. The rubric then facilitated interaction between the students and their teacher because it provided a basis to which both teacher and students could refer. Finally, when the project was completed and assessed by the teacher, it provided both the students and her with information about the students' respective strengths and weaknesses in knowledge, reasoning, and communication and how they might work to improve their performance.

While most teachers will recognize the rubrics' traditional uses, we found that the rubric also served as an instructional tool. That is, most students were successful as they applied their historical knowledge and reasoning to the assignment by creating an informative travel guide about Rome. Students who attained *developed* levels in all three dimensions formulated questions about specific content requirements, discussed with their teacher methods to demonstrate their thinking and reasoning skills, and consulted their teacher about the best ways to communicate what they knew about the Roman republic in a creative and concise manner. It is important to note that several students who achieved *developed* levels in some, if not all dimensions, began in the *developing* stage. In these instances, the rubric helped students learn both content and how to think historically about important information. Students' reference to the rubric during consultation with their teacher helped them to organize their historical knowledge and reasoning and to consider ways to communicate what they know and think about the past effectively.

ENDNOTES

1. Frederick D. Drake and Lawrence W. McBride, "Reinvigorating the Teaching of History through Alternative Assessment," *The History Teacher* 30 (February 1997): 145-173.

2. The National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History* (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996), pp. 132-133.

3. The Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools* (Educational Excellence Network: 1988, 1989), pp. 10-11.

4. National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History*, p. 2.

5. The Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in the Schools*, p.9.

6. Lawrence W. McBride, Frederick D. Drake, and Marcel Lewinski, *Alternative Assessment in the Social Sciences* (Illinois State Board of Education, 1996).

7. Copies of student work referred to may be obtained by contacting the authors at the address given in the list of participants found at the end of the *Handbook*.

FIGURE 1

A History Rubric For Alternative Assessment

KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge of evidence from history: facts/supporting details; themes/issues; and concepts/ideas

……

6

- Key concepts/Vital Themes and Narratives/issues/ideas are thoroughly identified, defined, and described
- Significant facts/supporting details are included and accurately described
- Has no factual inaccuracies

5

- Key concepts/Vital Themes and Narratives/issues/ideas are considerably identified, defined, and described
- Facts/supporting details are included
- Has only minor factual inaccuracies

4

- Key concepts/Vital Themes and Narratives/issues/ideas are partially identified, defined, and described
- Some facts/supporting details are included
- May have a major factual inaccuracy, but most information is correct

3

- Some key concepts/Vital Themes and Narratives/issues/ideas are identified, and described
- Few facts/supporting details are included
- Has some correct and some incorrect information

2

- Few key concepts/Vital Themes and Narratives/issues/ideas are identified, defined, and described
- Facts/supporting details are not included
- Information is largely inaccurate or irrelevant

1,

- Key concepts/Vital Themes and Narratives/issues/ideas are not identified, defined, and described
- Facts/supporting details are not included
- Information is inaccurate or absent

……

REASONING

Analysis, evaluation, and synthesis of evidence

……

6

- Identifies and logically organizes all relevant evidence
- Uses appropriate and comprehensive critical thinking skills and Habits of Mind to analyze, evaluate, and synthesize evidence
- Reaches informed conclusions based on the evidence

5

- Identifies and logically organizes most of the relevant evidence
- Uses appropriate and critical thinking skills and Habits of Mind to analyze, evaluate, and synthesize evidence
- Reaches informed conclusions based on the evidence

4

- Identifies and organizes some of the relevant evidence
- Uses partial critical thinking skills and Habits of Mind to analyze, evaluate, and synthesize evidence
- Reaches informed conclusions based on the evidence

3

- Identifies some of the relevant evidence but omits other evidence
- Uses incomplete critical thinking skills and Habits of Mind to analyze, evaluate, and synthesize evidence
- Reaches incomplete conclusions based on the evidence

2

- Identifies little relevant evidence and omits most of the evidence
- Uses unclear or inappropriate critical thinking skills and Habits of Mind to analyze, evaluate, and synthesize evidence
- Reaches inaccurate conclusions based on the evidence

1

- Important evidence relevant to the problem is not identified
- Critical thinking skills and Habits of Mind are absent
- Conclusions are lacking or unclear

……

COMMUNICATION

Demonstrates knowledge and reasoning through oral, written, visual, dramatic, or mixed media presentation

6

- All ideas in the presentation are expressed in a way that provides evidence of the student's knowledge and reasoning processes
- The presentation is well focused with a well-defined thesis
- Presentation shows substantial evidence of organization
- Presentation shows attention to the details of specific performance conventions

5

- Most ideas in the presentation are expressed in a way that provides evidence of the student's knowledge and reasoning processes
- The presentation demonstrates a focus and thesis with minimal narrative gaps
- Presentation shows sufficient evidence of organization
- Presentation has minor mistakes in attention to the details of specific performance conventions

4

- Some ideas in the presentation are expressed in a way that provides evidence of the student's knowledge and reasoning processes
- The presentation demonstrates a focus and thesis with several narrative gaps
- Presentation demonstrates adequate evidence of organization
- Presentation has mistakes in attention to the details of specific performance conventions

3

- Few ideas in the presentation are expressed in a way that provides evidence of the student's knowledge and reasoning processes
- The presentation demonstrates an inadequate focus and thesis
- Presentation demonstrates inadequate evidence of organization
- Presentation has insufficient attention to the details of specific performance conventions

2

- Most ideas in the presentation are not clearly expressed
- The presentation demonstrates insufficient focus and a poorly defined thesis
- Presentation demonstrates insufficient evidence of organization
- Presentation has multiple mistakes in attention to the details of specific performance conventions

1

- Expression of all ideas in the presentation is unclear
- The presentation demonstrates little focus and lacks a thesis
- Presentation demonstrates little evidence of organization
- Presentation has no attention to the details of specific performance conventions

FIGURE 2

Travel Guide for Ancient Rome

To demonstrate your knowledge of the Roman Republic prior to the First Triumvirate, you and your colleagues have been commissioned to create a travel guide for Rome. Your job is to design and write a brochure which attracts tourists to Rome. The geographic features of Italy will be an important selling point. You will also attract tourists through an explanation of Roman beliefs, values, and contributions to Western civilization. As you construct your travel guide for Rome organize the brochure around the following sections: geography, laws and government, culture, and expansion.

Requirements:

You will work in groups of four to create your travel guide. Each member of your group is responsible for contributing to every section of the guide. In other words, every member of your group will make a contribution to the guide in the areas of geography, laws and government, culture, and expansion. Each section has four parts. You must make a contribution to each section of the guide. However, you are not allowed to repeat the same part even if it is in a different section. For example, if you contribute a map of Italy in the geography section, you cannot contribute a map in the expansion section.

Your travel guide must be in a booklet form. In addition to the four sections mentioned above, your travel guide must include a cover with a title and an introduction. Below you will see the four sections and their respective parts. All parts must conform to the size of the book. Maps and post cards should be your creation. They cannot be photocopies or downloaded from a computer. The narrative is a "primary source" account of a person experiencing an event. For example, if you create the narrative in the expansion section, you might write a letter home describing your experiences during the Second Punic War. Thus, the narrative is not an actual primary source. Rather, it resembles what might be found after research.

Geography:

- Map of Italy
- Written description of the land
- Post card
- Narrative

Laws and Government:

- Explanation of structure
- Major concepts and ideas (Republic, SPQR)
- Post card
- Narrative

Culture:

- Greco-Roman fusion
- Art as propaganda
- Post card
- Narrative

Expansion:

- Map of expansion
- Explanation of Punic Wars
- Post card
- Narrative

Global World History and Constructivist Assessments

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As comparative history, Global World History requires a comprehensive examination of factors contributing to world interactions and development. Since it invites multiple perspectives and interdisciplinary approaches, simple true and false, matching, and fill-in-the-blank tests are insufficient to demonstrate knowledge. Geography is infused into history not just as political boundaries; less discrete socio-economic interactions across land masses and the natural physical features and resources that have facilitated or inhibited interactions between peoples also are examined. The legacy of diasporas of people who spread ideas including technology and religion across time and place is inquiry that defies simple rote memorization. Since cross cultural encounters were sometimes peaceful and accommodating and at othe times filled with conflict and resistance, larger questions of why and how are central to investigations. Therefore, for students to grasp the complexities of world history, they must engage in thoughtful analysis of the social, economic, technological, environmental, and political factors of history. Therefore, demonstration of that knowledge must include means by which they can explore the uniqueness and the universality of socities. Constructivist assessments accommodate such inquiry and allow students to connect their prior knowledge for a deeper and broader understanding of world history.

Constructivist Assessments

To facilitate student centered learning, assessments which provide feedback aout achievement in knowledge and skills (and areas needing imporvement), are preferable to a grade which is dependent upon mastery of a teacher-prescribed set of facts. While facts are at the core both methods,constructivist methods demand that facts be organized in a context where meaning is demonstrated, in contrast to standardized tests which often dictate recall of isolated facts. Therefore, teachers must construct assessments that allow for greater latitude of expression of knowledge. To guide a constructivist approach, Fred Newmann's "Authentic Pedagogy" outlined a three pronged strategy including Construction of Knowledge, Disciplined Inquiry, and Value Beyond School. Through Construction of Knowledge, students engage in organization, synthesis, interpretation, explanation, or evaluation of a complex concept, problem, or issue. Using charts, Venn Diagrams, webbing or alternative flow charts, students may organize information. Charts and Venn Diagrams provide structures for students to compare and contrast, regions, events, leadership styles, physical and environment factors, eras, social, political, religious, technological, and economic influences.

(See Chart insert)

A chart could be drawn whichlists Item A on the left side and Item B on the right side. Along the left side could be the topics for comparison such as those mentioned above. In the boxes, the similarities and differences can be outlined.

(See Webbing Insert)

Webbing allows students to brainstorm ideas related to a theme or topic and to identify categories. Students must discriminate between relevant and irrelevant facts according to the topic. They must also arrange information to support themes that the teacher or students identify. Participants in the Aspen World History Institute employed this method as part of a presentation by David Smith on "Technology in History."(See p.) While they were engaged in depicting the influence of technology across time and place, they discovered that sharing knowledge allowed them to fill in some gaps and to determine where further research would be necessary. The assessment was an extension of the instructional continuum, not a distinct or separate component.

Alternatives flow charts allow students to explore the complexities of historical events. Students consider alternative strategies or solutions to problems or issues by exploring factors that contributed to the decisions. In the debriefing, they also can explore the intended and unintended outcomes of decisions. (See Alternatives Flowchart insert) The flow chart is structured in the following way: The teacher or the students identify a problem or issue in the top box. On the second level, they list possible solutions. The third level then considers possible consequences for each proposed solution. Students will then gain an awareness of the complexity of the decisions and the factors which contributed to the course of action. Using their textbook, supplementary readings provided by the teacher, or individual or group research, they support their arguments. They will also learn the importance of supporting their opinions with evidence. They can explore a myriad of forces which shaped world events rather to perceive history as a linear progression of events. Students will also grapple with multiple perspectives and complex motives for the behavior of leaders and societies throughout time and place.

Disciplined Inquiry

Related to Newmann's "Construction of Knowledge is Disciplined Inquiry" where students demonstrate understanding of ideas, theories, and perspectives primary to a discipline. In the case of history, students may analyze primary source documents (eyewitness or newspaper accounts) or photographs. Using an interdisciplinary approach, students may also inquire into artwork, artifacts, and literature to explore the background of the author or artist such as age, gender, religion, socio-economic status, political views, education, era and other pertinent cultural orientations which can illuminate historical inquiry.

Newmann also suggested that students demonstrate understanding of disciplinary content and process through elaborated written communication. Traditional essay tests can therefore be instructive as a follow-up activity if expectations are clearly stated and measurable such as "Compare three philosophical characteristics of Martin Luther King and Mohandas Gandhi." Students can construct meaning by using information from the chart, Venn Diagram, webbing, alternatives flow chart, analysis of primary source documents, or any combination of these. This encourages students to see that assessments are extensions of the daily instructional activities, not a test of student ingestion of teacher digested information.

Narratives as Assessments

In teaching history as narrative, assessments also may take the form of student constructed narratives. An alternative or supplement to essay writing, an individual assessment, is skit writing in small groups. Assignment of specific duties and/or daily work logs is advisable to ensure individual accountability for contributions. However, just like the essay, skit writing can be used to describe, interpret, persuade, or compare and contrast historical figures and events. Employing literary techniques, students in groups must first research the characters (no more than three) by describing physical characteristics and personality traits and perhaps clothing. Second, students should detail the setting (time and place) including time of day, season, and specific location such as a particular city, buildings or other environmental features. Third, students explore conflicts such as person vs. person, person vs. self, person vs. nature, or person vs. society or a combination of these. Students will become aware of how the role and personality of the leader and societal factors contribute to the unfolding of events. By examining person vs. society and person vs. self, students can consider the problems inherent when personal philosophies are at odds with dominant views in society. In the former, the views of the character are decisive but result in clashes with society. In the latter, multiple identities or allegiances cause a dilemma, or even crisis, for the character. Students will explore the complexities of leadership, both in particular situations as well as the broader notions of leadership, so that they may link information to contemporary applications. They also explore social history in creative ways. Person vs. nature incorporates geographical and environmental factors such as overcoming physical barriers such as crossing mountains or bodies of water. Hannibal's crossing the Alps, blizzard conditions during a 1941 German attack on Russia during World War II, and fighting in the jungles of Vietnam are but a few examples of this. Mountains and bodies of water which have served as natural protection are also examples to illustrate the adverse and beneficial aspects of physical land features contributing to human history. Dramas may also express battles over use and preservation of land and natural resources. Fourth, students must devise the remainder of the plot by developing at least two incidents to support the escalation of the conflict, culminated by a resolution. The students can write dialogues and narration to demonstrate their knowledge and interpretation of the historical account. Expectations may vary depending on the age and ability of the students and the time allotted for the assignment. How students portray the characters demonstrates their point of view. However, they should also recognize that the story could have also been told from other perspectives. So alternatively, two or more groups may explore the same events taking various positions.

Judith Torney-Purta devised a three pronged method using simulation which combines the elements of the alternatives flow chart and drama. The first requires students to visualize a variety of solutions to problems using different persons or institutions. Next, students speculate on the potential effectiveness of possible solutions. Third, the students relate the matter to the potential actions of leaders dealing with a variety of contemporary world issues. Connections to the present illustrate application of Newmann's "AudienceBeyond School", where students compare historical world events to contemporary and local problems or issues. The skit assignment described above could also be written so that an event in history is adapted to modern times to demonstrate the differences and similaries of time and place. Performance of the skit for other classes in the school, for parent night, or for community organizations is another means to have students share their new knowledge with fellow students, parents, staff, and community members.

Another measurement of student progress is a portfolio which demonstrates a compilation of acquired skills and knowledge. The value of a portfolio is that students can select work that represents their best efforts including essays, tests, skits, and projects. Students can reflect on what they learned in writing and presentation to classmates, parents, administrators, or students anticipating taking the course. Student may also ponder the relationship between assignments to further connect their learning.

Redefining Student-Instructor Roles

Above are activities designed to assess student knowledge and to promote student-centered learning. While the roles of the instructor and the student are non-traditional, teacher guidance is still vital. As mentioned previously, clearly stated expectations must provide the road map for the inquiry. Monitoring of student progress is necessary to assist them with questions and to interject probing questions, if necessary, to spur student thought. Student must be actively involved in their learning, not just receptacles of teacher and textbook constructed ideas. Just as pre-packaged meals reduce the nutrients, "pre-packaged" lessons provide the instructor with the value of processing the information, but the richness of the value of the inquiry is diminished when transferred directly to the students. Their "formation" of the information maximizes the instruction and promotes lifelong learning. Since teachers must provide feedback on accomplishments and areas needing improvement, instruments must measure student success. A checklist or rubric might be designed which indicates varying degrees of success in the assignment. The criteria might require the following: a clear statement of the problem or issue being explored, guidelines for length of assignment or number of comparisons required, supporting detail for the thesis and argumentation, and relevance of writing mechanics such as spelling, punctuation, and grammar (i.e. the maximum number of errors allowed) and expectations of coherence and clarity. Students should be informed prior to the assignment how credit will be given. This may be achievement of aminimum number of points for each section of the assignment or mastery of a checklist that indicates criteria for passing or proficiency. Point values may indicate degree of proficiency. Credit on the chart, Venn Diagram, webbing, or alternatives flowchart, may be determined by number of items supplied and the quality of the description. Again, specification of minimum standards clarify expectations. Constructive techniques may be more time consuming than traditional methods for both students and teachers. However, as the National Council for Social Studies (NCSS) stated, "To gauge effectively the efforts of students and teachers in social studies programs, evaluators must augment traditional tests with performance evaluations, portfolios of student papers and projects, and essays focused on higher level thinking." Because regular feedback is important to student progress, quick assessments using multiple choice which incorporate higher order thinking or matching are expedient methods for feedback on student retention of material. However, global world history demands more than retention of material; it demands processing of facts which can only be assessed by extended opportunities for oral and written communication. These student-centered approaches provide forums for exchange of knowledge among students and with the teacher who must establish a productive learning environment which connects instruction to assessment.

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